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ADMINISTRATIONS OF WILLIAM COSBY AND GEORGE CLARKE. 1732-1743.¹



COLONIAL FOOT
SOLDIER OF 1740.

No governor seemed more acceptable to the citizens of New York than Colonel William Cosby. He had apparently shown his care for their interests by remaining in London for more than six months after his appointment to prevent the passage of the sugar bill, a measure that would have affected injuriously the colonial trade. He had succeeded in defeating it in the House of Lords. He was an officer of high rank in the army and had been governor of Minorca. He was brother-in-law to the Earl of Halifax, and had the powerful patronage of the Duke of Newcastle. The son of the Duke of Grafton was soon to marry one of his daughters; and the gay people of New York were al-

ready fond of noble names and royal lineage, however tainted or impure. Cosby, too, was popular in his manners, fond of entertaining company, and not unwilling to please. His dinners and his balls at the fort were the favorite means, his opponents said, of seducing a grand juror from his duty or winning over a hostile voter. Everything promised him a peaceful and successful rule. Several occurrences, too, tended to subdue the violence of party and unite the people. One was the fearful prevalence of the small-pox, which not long before had carried off five hundred of the inhabitants, and might at any moment return. Another was the fear of the French. The occupation of Crown Point and Ticonderoga by the French forces opened for them an easy passage to Albany and even threatened New York. It was evident that they were drawing close to the English settlements, and should war break out, as it seemed quite likely to do, might easily lead an army to the sack of the ill-defended towns. The fate of Schenectady was never forgotten by the colonists; while at any mo-

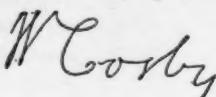
¹ From "The Memorial History of New York."

ment a French fleet could enter New York harbor and rob it of its wealth.

As a soldier, therefore, Colonel Cosby was welcomed by the citizens as a protector and a friend. After a voyage of seven weeks from England, he arrived by way of Madeira at Sandy Hook, and landed in New York about ten in the evening of a fair August day. Several gentlemen met him at the waterside we are told, and attended him to the fort. The next morning, between eleven and twelve, he walked in state to the City Hall, a company of foot-soldiers and a troop of horse leading the way. Behind came the gentlemen of the council, the corporation, and a great number of citizens and merchants. The streets were lined on each side with soldiers. The people crowded

the walls of the fort. This was a square earthwork of considerable size, lined with a stone facing inside, and mounting perhaps forty guns. It stood on the rising ground above what is now the Battery, and was, after the Revolution, converted into a government house for Washington, the first President. Then it became the residence of the governors of New York, was afterward used as a custom house, and was then taken down and the ground sold in lots for some of the finest houses in the early city. This was in 1815. They looked in front upon the Bowling Green, and were occupied by some of the wealthiest merchants of that day. But in Cosby's time the walls of the fort were no doubt rude and imperfect. A brackish well just outside, supplied it with water. Inside were a small chapel, the barracks, and also the house in which the governor and his family lived. This was a building of three stories, built of brick; it was evidently of sufficient size to entertain the large number of guests the governor was fond of asking to his parties, and from its top or the upper story was obtained a fine view of the bay and the opposite shores. A gateway opened in the wall of the fort, and over its paved walk passed the gay coaches and the crowds of the fair and the brave who were summoned to the governor's balls. Here Cosby brought his wife, his son, and his two daughters, and here passed on the four stormy years in which he essayed to govern New York.

The city and the province had not grown as rapidly as their neighbors east and south. In the second century of its existence (1730-1736) New



the sidewalks and houses along Broadway and Wall and Broad streets. At the City Hall, which stood in Wall street, at the head of Broad, the new governor read his commission, assumed his office, and then returned to the fort at the Battery, escorted as before by the military and the city officials. Here the militia drew up in line and fired three times a parting salute. It was no doubt a spectacle of rare interest and excitement to our ancestors: the military pomp, the crowded streets, the dignified procession, the governor in his uniform, seemed to give promise of future harmony and security to the rejoicing city. The house in which the governor lived was within

York was still a small town clinging to the southern end of its island, and having a population of not more than seven or eight thousand souls. Twenty-five years later it had reached only about twelve or thirteen thousand, of whom more than two thousand were negro slaves.¹ A modern city, a Chicago, gathers its million in half a century. The growth of New York was so slow in the first hundred years or more from Stuyvesant to the Revolution, that it had added to its population only at the rate of perhaps one hundred and fifty annually. The province was equally slow in its progress. Immigrants turned away from it to seek the rich fields of Pennsylvania, and the rising settlements of New Jersey. Connecticut, the historian Smith complains, in 1756 had already a population of one hundred and thirty-three thousand, while in all New York there were scarcely one hundred thousand. Yet there were richer lands along the Hudson than any the east could boast of, and the fair and mighty river gave advantages to the New York farmer that Pennsylvania and the interior of New Jersey could never afford. The historian attributes this slow growth to the unwise policy of England. The common punishment of English criminals was to be banished to the colonies. Here came the thieves, homicides, and all the disreputable part of the population of the mother-country. New York was a Botany Bay, and the honest emigrant refused to come to a land where he must consort with the vile and the infamous. Many of these criminals were sold as bond-

slaves. The newspapers have frequent advertisements of Welsh and English slaves for sale, as well as negroes. Here is one in the "New York Gazette," September 11, 1732: "Just arrived from Great Britain, and are to be sold on board the ship Alice and Elizabeth, Capt. Faire, commander, several likely Welsh and English servant men, most of them tradesmen." They are to be seen "at Mr. Hazard's in New York, where also is [sic] to be sold several negro girls and a negro boy, and likewise good Cheshire cheese." Besides these unwelcome immigrants, New York had several other disadvantages. It was a frontier colony. To the north and west the savages and the French drove away the farmers into the safer settlements of New Jersey. Some large estates, too, that still continued, with their feudal usages and tenantry, engrossed much of the good land on the banks of the Hudson. Free laborers refused to sink to the level of European serfs. In their place white and negro slaves filled the streets of New York and the plantations of Long Island. There was an active slave-market at the foot of Wall street, and the newspapers are filled with offers of rewards for runaway slaves. Slavery, with all its intense corruption and degradation, weighed upon the infant city. Young and old felt its demoralizing taint. Labor was held to be dishonorable. The frequent rumors of slave insurrections and the consciousness of their own guilt drove the whites often to deeds of insane cruelty. Negroes, for serious crimes were often burned alive. The hor-

¹ By the census in 1731, the city had about 9,000 inhabitants; the province about 50,000.

rible punishment was constantly inflicted upon those who rose in revolt. It is not necessary to repeat the well-known story. But the chief obstacle to the growth of New York was its want of self-government. It always remained a court colony. England had sent out its worthless or disreputable adventurers to rule almost by force over its murmuring people. Sloughter, who caused the execution of Leisler, was a drunkard and a rogue; Cornbury, a dissolute and

the lovers of rank and the rivals for precedence; the persecuting churchmen, the corrupt lawyers and judges—all appear in the period of a Fletcher or a Cornbury. The reputation of New York sank low, and its morals and its manners were inferior to those of its sister colonies. Luxury and gross vices came in. Jewels, silks, brocades, the plunder of some Indian trader, were sold openly. The strong wines of Madeira and great bowls of fiery punch were consumed



THE LOWER MARKET.

shameless tyrant; Fletcher, but little better; even the cultivated Burnet wanted at times discretion. Only Montgomerie had shown a wise tolerance in his short administration. And the tyranny of the royal governors had already produced in New York a party not far removed from complete republicanism and independence. All the vices of a tyranny invaded the infant city. Sycophants, who flattered and preyed upon the officials; the faithful followers of the powerful, who justified all their acts;

in excessive quantities at every entertainment, and even at funerals. It was an age of coarse manners, gross vices, and few traces of a dawning refinement.

Cosby, after the first few days of congratulations and pleasant impressions, began to show the less agreeable traits of his character. He was evidently one of those needy, unscrupulous retainers of the English court who were sent over to New York to enrich themselves at the cost of the provincials. Even before leav-

ing England, he had received twenty-four hundred pounds for his services in the affair of the sugar bill. He now made a new demand upon the colonial assembly for a larger compensation. The house yielded with some murmurs, and gave him one thousand pounds. He was so displeased at the smallness of the sum that he spoke of it with contempt.¹ In addition the house fixed his salary at one thousand five hundred pounds, besides allowing him various expenses and perquisites. It is not possible to estimate exactly the cost of an English governor to the colony; but Cosby received an income of over ten thousand dollars—an excessive salary in these early days. He had, besides, his house in the fort, and apparently increased his gains, according to charges or calumnies of his enemies, by taking bribes and selling offices.

The effects of the late governor, Montgomerie, sold at auction after his death, give us some conception of the decorations and furniture of a New York home in 1730. There were fine beds and bedsteads, blue cloth for liveries, silver-handled knives and forks, "a very fine medicine chest with great variety of valuable medicines," some good Barbados rum, horses, coaches, a state barge handsomely decorated and various pieces of furniture, four negro men and four negro women, silver plate and many other articles of value. The finest wines and liquors and a library of fourteen hundred books were also among Montgomerie's possessions. The governor drove out in state with servants in livery and fine coaches; his family

were dressed in the latest London style, and his receptions and parties glittered with jewels and satins, and his table was loaded with plate and the costliest wines. Cosby was fond of these entertainments, and was always apparently in want of money. To his avarice or his necessities he was to owe all the future pains of his unquiet administration.

Among the members of the council at his arrival were Rip Van Dam, the president of the province after the death of Montgomerie, and Messrs. George Clarke, Francis Harrison, James Alexander, Cadwallader Col-
den, Daniel Horsmanden, and James DeLancey. Van Dam was a successful merchant of Dutch descent, popular and highly respected; he had governed the province with discretion, and scarcely deserves the imputation Smith has thrown upon him of neglecting to oppose the inroads of the French on Lake Champlain. He seems to have been the first to give the alarm. His integrity was never doubted; he had descended to no ignoble means of increasing his fortune; his character offered a marked contrast to many of the active politicians of his age. Several of Rip Van Dam's descendants are found among us to-day; and the memory of his real worth is still preserved among them. As the president of the council he had welcomed Cosby on his arrival, and had yielded up to him at once his official position. What was his surprise when he found that Cosby had prevailed upon the council in England to order him to pay one half the year's salary to himself. Van Dam, who had performed all the

¹ "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York," Vols. IV and V, give his letters and complaints.

duties of the office was to be deprived of its emoluments, and that by an order from a foreign court that had no authority to touch the finances of New York! It was an indignity to himself and to the people. Van Dam refused the governor's demand, and refused to obey the orders of the council. He offered as a compromise to pay one half of the salary to Cosby if he would divide with



John Peter Zenger

him the large sums he had received in England. This enraged Cosby and he declined. He resolved to prosecute Van Dam, the most honest and respected of the people—to begin a suit that was never to be decided. He was evidently wholly unacquainted with the feelings and wishes of the people he had been sent to govern. It was plain to every one that Van Dam was entitled to the

salary of his office, but Cosby's anger was only the more inflamed when he found himself in the wrong. The means by which he hoped to attain his end was one that had always aroused the violent opposition of the people. He proposed to erect a chancery court to try the case against Van Dam. But an equity court ruled by the governor, was a thing the assembly had always protested against since the evil days of Cornbury and Fletcher. The governor was by his office also chancellor. He held, the people said, all their property by this provision, under his complete control. The best lawyers denied that any court of equity could be introduced in New York except by the act of its own legislature or parliament. They refused to admit any authority in the court. Cosby and his advisers, on the other hand persisted in their plan; and as the governor could not well sit as judge in his own cause, he appointed De Lancey, Philipse, and Chief Justice Morris to act as equity judges in the prosecution of Van Dam.

Cosby evidently relied on his powerful connections in England to sustain him in his imprudent course and an event now occurred that filled the gay circles of New York with an unusual excitement, and seemed to complete the successful opening of the governor's rule. This was the arrival of Lord Augustus Fitzroy, who was a suitor for the hand of his daughter. He was a son of the Duke of Grafton, the descendant of Charles II., so high in rank that even Cosby's daughter was thought a match too low for him. The whole town was stirred by the arrival of so great a

personage. The mayor, aldermen, and assistants, attended by the chief officers of the city regiments, waited on him to thank him for the honor he did them by coming to New York and consenting to accept the freedom of the city. Then the "worshipful mayor" handed him a gold box, inscribed with the city arms, in which was the certificate of citizenship. The young lord answered pleasantly, thanking the mayor and aldermen, and saying he should always remember their kind reception. The lawyers, too, with Chief Justice Morris at their head, came to welcome him. He was an ardent lover, and Cosby writes to the Duke of Newcastle, October 26, 1732, with great satisfaction of his noble guest. He is evidently in a cheerful mood. "My Lord Augustus," he says, "is with me; he is of all the young people that I have seen the most agreeable and unaffected, with the finest notions of honor." Cosby tells the duke he has just given his son "Billy" a lucrative post in New Jersey. "Grace [Lady Cosby, sister of the Earl of Halifax] and the little family join in humble service to your Grace and the Duchess." "I have sent my Lady Duchess a live beaver," he adds. Not long after Lord Augustus was married to the young lady privately; it was an illicit marriage, and the clergyman who celebrated it was prosecuted.¹ But the offense was easily condoned, and the prosecution only a feigned one. Thus highly connected, supported by the favor of Newcastle and the ministry, Cosby thought he might easily subdue the feeble opposition

in the colony, and reduce it to a proper obedience. He was determined, he said to maintain the royal prerogative. He would establish the court of chancery, however unpopular, and drive from the council the unlucky patriots who had merited his displeasure.

Elated by his apparent strength, Cosby now urged on the prosecution of Van Dam. Of the three judges he was sure of the sympathy and support of two, De Lancey and Philipse, but of the chief justice, Morris, he was evidently in doubt. The Morrises had been noted for their independence and a certain tendency to liberal opinions. Richard Morris, the founder of the family in America, of Welsh descent, had served as an officer in the Parliamentary army, and had fled, at the Restoration, to Barbados. There he married a lady of fortune and emigrated to New York, where he purchased from the Indian chiefs the wild lands in Westchester County now known as Morrisania. Here he lived in safe retirement, it is said, disguised as a Quaker, but was also a successful merchant in the city. His son Lewis, born at Morrisania in 1671, became one of the most noted men of the day. At his father's death he was left in the charge of his uncle, Lewis Morris. He seems to have been an active boy, not easily controlled: he had, from some dispute with his uncle, fled from home and wandered away to Virginia, and even as far as the West Indies and Jamaica. He supported himself in his exile and poverty by writing as a scrivner or copyist.

¹ It is said the clergyman, Campbell, climbed over the wall of the fort, and performed the ceremony without

license, and Lady Cosby managed the affair. From this marriage was born a son, afterward Duke of Grafton.

After some years of this vagrant life he came back to Morrisania, was reconciled to his uncle, who received him with great joy, and soon after married a daughter of James Graham, a woman of rare good sense and refinement. They lived together fifty years, we are told, in perfect harmony. Morris passed much of his early life in New Jersey. He was one of the council and a judge of its court. His intellect soon showed its rare activity: he was never weary of learning, and never so happy as in

old men who may have seen Leisler and Milborne led out to execution, and who had never forgotten the dreadful scene; the young men who chafed under the haughty rule of the English officials; the Dutch citizens who had felt the scorn of their corrupt rulers and repaid it; the Presbyterians and other dissenters who had been persecuted and plundered by the Episcopalian governors, and probably the great majority of the people, looked upon Rip Van Dam as only the new victim of a



GREAT SEAL OF GEORGE I.



the society of men of letters and of thought. His temper was hasty, his decisions sometimes rash, but he was always a liberal, inclining to rational progress. Few of his contemporaries have left a stronger impress upon the early history of New York.

The suit against Van Dam was to be tried before the three judges as an exchequer court; it excited an intense interest among the people. All the old violence of party spirit was roused by this attempt, as it was thought, upon their liberties. The

foreign tyranny. For twenty years a member of the council, for several years its senior member, its recent president, and one of the most respected members of the community, he was now unjustly accused of improperly withholding moneys, and prosecuted in an illegal court. Van Dam was not to be terrified by the frowns of the governor and his followers. He boldly resisted, and was not easily to be destroyed. At the trial two remarkable men defended Van Dam. One was William Smith,

the son of an immigrant from England. He was a good lawyer, a fine speaker, and had risen to eminence by his rare talents, industry, and unflinching courage. The other was James Alexander, an exile from Scotland, who, like Smith, had made his way to distinction in the colony, and was now a member of the council. It would be useless to repeat here the technical argument of the two lawyers. They boldly denied the authority of the royal council, or even of the king himself, without the consent of parliament, to legislate for New York. They made, in fact, an appeal for independence. The opposing counsel were about to enter into the merits of the case, when, to the surprise of Cosby and his adherents, the chief justice, Morris, interposed and delivered a decision in favor of the plea of Van Dam. He held with Smith and Alexander that the governor had no power to create an equity court. His two colleagues, De Lancey and Philipse, astonished at his boldness, gave opposing opinions defending the governor; they overruled even the chief justice. But no final decision was ever reached in this eventful case. The Court of Exchequer, as constituted by Cosby, never met again. The public opinion set too strongly against it; Van Dam was the victor in the contest against the court party, and his bold resistance led to a new sense of colonial rights—perhaps to final independence.

Like most men of narrow intellect, Cosby was a good hater; he scarcely knew how to forgive. His education had plainly been imperfect: his spelling and his grammar were often at

fault; and his letters show a plain want of prudence and intelligence and the intensity of his dislike for his political opponents.

Against Chief Justice Morris the governor now turned all his rage. His decision in the Van Dam case seemed to the angry official treason against England and the crown. But especially was it a personal insult to himself. In his resentment he sent a message to Morris requesting a copy of his opinion in terms that were plainly designed to provoke him and that were a gross imputation upon his honor and good faith. Morris at once printed the opinion in a pamphlet, and sent a copy to Cosby with a memorable letter that marks the violent feelings of the time. "This, sir, is a copy of a paper I read in Court," he writes. "I have no reason to expect that it or anything that I can say will be at all grateful or have any weight with your Excellency, after the answer I received to a message I did myself the honour to send you concerning an ordinance you were about to make for establishing a court of equity in the supreme court as being in my opinion contrary to law which I begged might be delayed till I could be heard on that head." The close of the letter is an admirable defense of his own character; it reminds one at times of Johnson's famous reply. "If," Morris adds, "a bow awkwardly made or anything of the kind, or some defect in ceremonial in addressing you has occasioned that remark, I beg it may be attributed to want of courtly education or to anything else rather than the want of respect to his majesty's representative. As to my integrity, I

have given you no occasion to call it in question. I have been in office almost twenty years. My hands were never soiled with a bribe, nor am I conscious to myself that power or poverty hath been able to induce me to be partial in favor of either of them, and as I have no reason to expect any favor from you, so I am neither afraid nor ashamed to stand the test of the strictest inquiry you can make concerning my conduct.

scene of festivity and license in New York. The governor, fond of conviviality, an Irishman, impulsive, hospitable, extravagant, kept up a series of entertainments. Around the fort, the Battery, and what is now the Bowling Green, the few coaches of the city drove in and out on winter evenings, and the chill winds from the river never prevented the young men and women of the time from accepting the governor's invitations.



MIDDLE DUTCH AND FRENCH CHURCHES.

I have served the public faithfully and honestly according to the best of my knowledge, and I dare and do appeal to it for my justification." Cosby at once removed Morris from his office by handing a notice of his appointment as chief justice to young James De Lancey. The governor assumed the air and powers of a despot. He insulted and degraded the chief justice of the province, violated the law, and showed openly his perfect contempt for the people.

The winter of 1732-33 was a

With the wealthier citizens he seems to have kept on good terms, but not with the wiser. Soon after his daughter Grace was married to a Mr. Freeman; every one hastened to congratulate him and Lady Grace. The allurements of a title and the latest news from the English court, the newest fashions and the sayings of the Duke of Newcastle and his Grace of Grafton, were irresistible to the New York merchants and their families. Cosby and Lady Grace knew and made use of the weakness of the

provincials. The court party drew in many of the noted names of the time. In spring and summer New York offered its rare charms. The drive along Broadway was always attractive; the state barge was no doubt often seen upon the river; often the still waters of the bay resounded in summer evenings with the gay laugh of the young and fair, and the music of flute and violin. The evening row upon the river was long a favorite amusement with the New York families; it was kept up until the beginning of the present century, and has passed away forever. Never again, we may complain with some venerable Knickerbocker, will the young men and women of the city rise at five o'clock in the summer mornings to walk in pairs on the Battery under the elms and nut-trees, as they were wont to do in the last century; never will the fresh forests of Bloomingdale and the wilderness of Greenwich echo to the merry laugh and song of the gay sleighing-parties of the elder age.

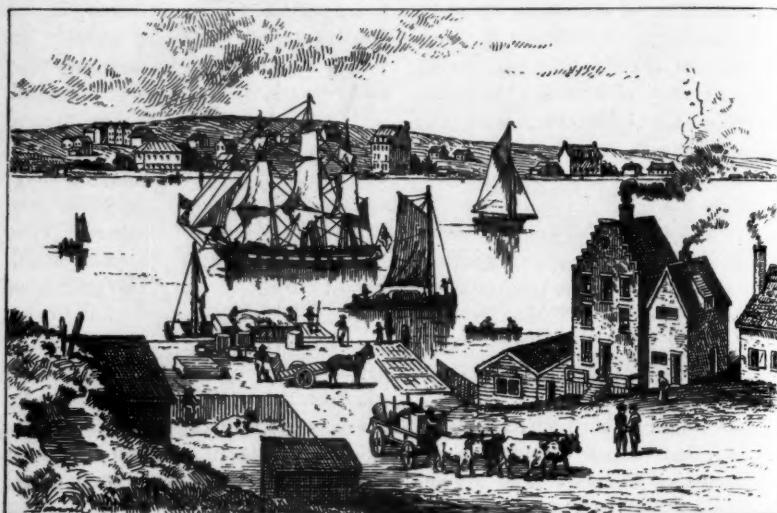
Yet New York, with all its simpler charms, had many disadvantages. The water of the city was always bad, impure, and brackish. No sewers nor sanitary arrangements were yet possible. The streets were paved with rough cobblestones, if paved at all; to ride on them was a painful pleasure. At night they were lighted by a few lanterns. Broadway was already the finest of the streets, a famous drive reaching nearly to the Central Park. The roads around the city were very often neglected and dangerous: they are often complained of. The churches of the city, too, were still small except the Mid-

dle Dutch on Nassau street, which was finished in 1731. The Dutch congregation, the largest of all, had outgrown the small church in Garden street; the new building was a "high heavy edifice," very extensive, and could contain a thousand or twelve hundred hearers. From its steeple was long to be seen the finest view in New York of the city, the environs and the bay. In the Middle Dutch Church, from 1730 to 1736, gathered much of the wealth and beauty of the town. Still only Dutch was preached from its pulpit; its young men had not yet been tempted away by the novel forms of England, and its young maidens, with blooming complexions and golden hair, still carried on their arms, hung by silver chains, their Dutch psalm-books and chanted the hymns of Holland. Trinity Church was still the small building of 1696; it was enlarged some years afterwards, and was ornamented with pictures, the "gilt busts of angels winged," an organ and glass branches. But in 1730 it could scarcely contain the large congregations that filled it. As yet it was the only Episcopal church except the chapel in the fort, St. George's not being built until 1752. The Presbyterians had been treated with little ceremony by the royal governors. The Episcopal party had refused them a charter to hold lands; they then conveyed their lands to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and built their church. So little toleration was there in New York. The French had their small church, once very flourishing, but now broken up by unwise dissensions. The Episcopalians claimed that theirs was the estab-

lished church, that they were entitled to tithes or a support from the State, and that the institutions and laws of England should prevail in New York.

The small city, extending only from Cortlandt street to Whitehall, disturbed by rival sects and leaders, was divided into two parties, the court's and the people's. Cosby, in the course of a few months, had contrived to revive all the suspicions, the fears, the factious strife that had

it petitioned constantly for its own dissolution, he refused to dissolve. He allowed it to meet only seldom, and at long intervals. He held his councilors in obedience by threats of dismissal. He established a kind of social despotism; those who were willing to submit to his arbitrary rule he asked to the court dinners and suppers in the palace in the fort; the patriots were rigidly excluded, or rather avoided. Thus it is likely



BROOKLYN FERRY, 1736.

been quieted under the prudent rule of Montgomerie. Against his opponents he resolved to use all the powers of an arbitrary rule. "The rights of the people," said Smith, as late as 1756, "lie even now at the mere mercy of their governors;" under Cosby they seemed to retain no rights at all. The assembly, although

that three fourths of the people of New York were already the governors avowed enemies, and that he relied for his support only on his powerful English friends, and his obedient councilors at home.¹

The year 1735 passed on, ever memorable in the history of New York. A fatal accident in July had

¹ The interesting episode of Cosby's attack on Zenger and the *New York Weekly Journal*, and Zenger's

trial, the result of which established the freedom of the Press in New York, will be told in the next number.

marked the laying of the first stone of the battery "on the rocks at Whitehall." The governor and a group of spectators had assembled, a salute of cannon was fired, a gun exploded, killing the high sheriff of the city, a Miss Van Cortlandt and a son-in-law of one of the aldermen. A single ferry to Brooklyn existed at the time: a barge or rowboat was the representative of the countless ferry-boats, swift and splendid, that now cover the harbor of New York. The cost of ferriage was high; a horse paid one shilling, a wagon five shillings, only a "sucking child" went over free. Through all its political struggles New York was still the gay, convivial city it is painted by the historians of the time.¹ It was called "one of the most social places on the continent." The birthdays and other anniversaries of the royal family were celebrated with illuminations, feasts, balls, and military parades, from which few went home sober. Great inequality of wealth marked the little city. A few held immense estates. Caleb Heathcote, the richest man of the day, died worth one hundred thousand pounds. He left his daughters each twenty-five hundred pounds in money. The large landowners had probably not great incomes. But very great extravagance is complained of in jewels, plate and furniture, horses and slaves. One family had forty negroes. But few in New York could live without labor or a trade. It is probable that the working-classes lived in abundance of food and in comparative comfort. Fruit, meats, game and vegetables were cheap. The houses were usually

surrounded by a garden. Broadway was lined with trees, and the heat of summer was tempered by the winds from the bay. In winter the cold was severe. The legislature met in October, 1735, but could do little. It is said that Cosby was universally distrusted. Yet he seems to have been a pleasant companion, an affectionate husband and father. Had he secured better advisers, he might have proved a useful official. One act should be remembered to his credit. He urged the assembly to lay a heavy tax on the importation of negro slaves, as he would discourage the traffic. An almshouse was built about this time in the Fields or park. Here slaves were kept for correction, and the very poor sheltered. But few new buildings were erected in New York. The bad government checked population.

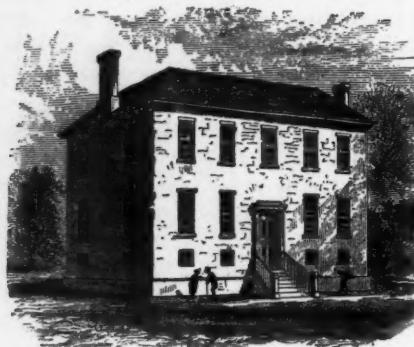
The last days of Cosby's administration were filled with mortification and pain. He had been seized with consumption, and was slowly passing away. Now and then his physicians gave him hopes of recovery, and his amendment was announced in the courtly "Gazette." His mental may have been the cause of his physical suffering: all his plans had failed, all his hopes of wealth and power were gone. The ministry in England had grown weary of his endless complaints, and were convinced of his want of discretion. They paid no attention to Cosby's charges against his enemies, and reproved him for voting in the council. He had been guilty, too, of acts that were criminal in their nature and might lead to an impeachment. Some deeds that had

¹ Smith's Hist., N. Y., p. 224; see also Kalm and Burnaby.

been intrusted to him to prove the title of the corporation of Albany to the lands of the Mohawks, when their tribe should dissolve, he threw into the fire. He was resolved to divide the country among new patentees and reap a harvest of fees. He threatened the landholders of Long Island with a new survey of their lands and a general alteration of their boundaries. Here, too, he probably looked for large profits. But soon his fatal disease gained in strength; the chill winter of 1735-36 probably hastened its progress; the winds from the

followers evidently thought that with Van Dam at the head of affairs some of their misdeeds might be brought to light, and some of Cosby's ill-gotten gains be reclaimed. Clarke, his friend, the next councilor on the list was to succeed him in case of his death. Cosby died at the fort soon after, on March 7, 1735-6, and was buried with proper ceremonies.

The populace of New-York, it is said, rejoiced at the death of Governor Cosby; they were still wanting in the refinement that prevents the modern from exultation even in the



THE FIRST POOR HOUSE, 1734.

river raged around the exposed fort at the Bowling Green, and the governor grew weaker as the cold deepened. But his passions had not yet died, and a strange scene was enacted in the bedchamber of the dying official. The council were summoned to meet for the purpose of removing Rip Van Dam from his place as councilor; Cosby ordered his name to be stricken from the list. He thus inflicted a last mortification upon his old enemy. It was his last act of pure tyranny. But his friends and

death of a foe. They hoped at once to come into power; but they were deceived, and a fierce contest followed that had nearly led to civil war. The council met, passed over the claims of Van Dam, and selected Mr. George Clarke as its president. The popular party, enraged, insisted that the proceeding was illegal. Van Dam assumed the presidency, demanded the seal of the province from Mrs. Cosby, nominated a mayor and other officials and prepared for resistance.¹ Clarke and his party held possession of the

¹ Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 46, Clarke to Newcastle, March 16, 1736. Van Dam was not admitted to the fort.

fort, armed themselves, and were equally resolved to rule. The assembly met, but finding the two parties irreconcilable, adjourned until the autumn. For some months New-York remained on the brink of a violent civil contest, its small population, of perhaps ten thousand whites almost ready to come to blows. The court party were evidently in the minority; but the fort and its garrison held the people in check. At length, in October, 1736, when the contest was at its height, a ship from England sailed into the harbor bringing with it the appointment of George Clarke as lieutenant-governor of New-York. In the face of this decisive action on the part of the home authorities in favor of one of the claimants, resistance ceased, and the patriots were in future to confine themselves to the limits of legal resistance to the foreign rule.

Mr. George Clarke, who soon after received his commission as lieutenant-governor, was one more of the impoverished adventurers who were sent from England to rule the people of New York. He had practised as an attorney in Dublin, had but little education, and his letter describing his voyage to Virginia shows his want of experience and his unfitness for any office that required intelligence and self-control.¹ Yet he had powerful friends at court, and in 1703 was appointed by Queen Anne secretary of the province of New-York on the death of Matthew Clarkson. Not long after he married Anne Hyde, a distant relative of the queen and of the famous Clarendon. He

had his country-seat at Hempstead Plains, Long Island, where he had purchased a hundred acres of land from Walter Dongan.

The whole of this period of seven years in which Clarke held office is marked by the steady rise of the popular party to power.² It is one of the most important in the history of our state. The people, represented in the assembly, took into their own hands, the control of the moneys raised and expended by the province. In vain the court party and the lieutenant-governor insisted on a permanent revenue and unrestricted grants; the assembly steadily refused to yield. Step by step it made its way to power. It addressed the English officials in language that showed a new spirit had risen among the people. Under the guidance of Alexander, Lewis Morris, Jr., Smith, and others, it studied and discussed the principles of free government and suggested many of the ruling ideas that led to the final contest with England and the liberation of the New World. No part of our history deserves more careful study.

At length came the news of the appointment of George Clinton as governor, and Clarke's rule approached its end. He had few friends left in the colony, but he was never weary of urging the assembly to grant a perpetual revenue and submit to the authority of the crown. They treated his addresses with neglect, but provided liberally for the expenses of the province. On September 22, 1743, George Clinton arrived in New York, and Clarke soon after

¹ "Voyage of George Clarke," O'Callaghan. His letter shows his youth, his bad spelling, and his easy morals.

² Clarke to Newcastle, May 16, 1736, asserts that they planned an insurrection.

returned to England. He had grown very wealthy and was supposed to be worth one hundred thousand pounds—so profitable was it to rule New York. In the close of his life he lived in the city of Chester, and a tablet was raised to his memory in one of the chapels of the cathedral. He was very old at his death. Some of his descendants still hold lands in

the western part of our State, and recall the memory of George Clarke and his excellent wife, Anne Hyde. It must be remembered as a palliation for many of his political errors that he acted under instructions from Newcastle and the lords of trade, and reflected the want of wisdom that marked the usual conduct of the English ministry in colonial affairs.



CROWN PIECE, GEORGE II.

SETTLEMENTS WEST OF THE ALLEGHANYS PRIOR TO 1776.

At a meeting of the American Historical Society in Washington, December 31, 1889, a statement is reported to have been made that there were no white settlements west of the Alleghanys when the Revolutionary war began. And Theodore Roosevelt, in *Winning of the West*, makes the statement, that "when the fight at Lexington took place they [the Americans] had no settlements beyond the mountain chain on our western border. It took them a century and a half to spread from the Atlantic to the Alleghanys. In the next three-fourths of a century they had spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

We find that in 1673 certain priests established a mission at San Antonio, Texas¹—now a very important town—and not long after they erected the Alamo, within which was enacted that sad tragedy in 1836, when Crockett, Travis, Bowie, and other heroes consecrated the soil with their heart's blood, soon destined to germinate and mature as the Lone Star Republic. In 1640 Santa Fé was the capital of New Mexico. In 1668 the mission of St. Mary's on Lake Superior was founded.² In 1673 Marquette was on the headwaters of the Mississippi and visited the Arkansas. In 1680 La Salle built Fort Crèvecoeur on the Illinois river, near the site of the present town of Peoria. After journeying back and forth to and from

Canada, in 1682 he discovered the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1684 La Salle with four vessels sailed from France for America. After experiencing much disaster in seeking to enter the mouth of the Mississippi, he finally landed in Matagorda bay, Texas, early in 1685. Here a fort was built. Of the original two hundred and eighty-five men only one hundred and fifty remained. Seeds were planted but few sprouted. Some of the men deserted. Reverses were met with which, on March 17, 1687, culminated in the murder of La Salle by one of his own men while *en route* to seek aid from a station on the Mississippi.³ In 1683 Father Gravier founded Kaskaskia, and about 1693 began a mission among the Illinois, and soon after another mission was started at Cahokia.⁴

Between 1695 and 1702 several attempts were made by the French to open copper mines near the upper Mississippi, but they were kept off by the warlike attitude of the Indians.⁵ In 1701 the French explored the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas. Between 1700 and 1710 D'Iberville built several temporary forts on the lower Mississippi and in the direction of Mobile bay. De la Motte de Cadillac in 1701 laid the foundation for forts at Detroit; and the first land grants at Detroit were made in 1707. Between the years 1700 and 1716, St. Denis explored the country towards

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

² Switzer's *History*; also *Western Annals*.

³ *Western Annals.*

⁴ *Western Annals.*

⁵ Stoddard's *Louisiana*.

the head of the Red, the Washita, and the Rio Grande below El Paso, and in 1703 he began a settlement on the Washita, keeping his headquarters at Natchitoches.¹ In 1719 La Harpe built a fort on Red River.² Spain disputed with France the right to the coast from Pensacola to the Rio Grande. In 1714 the French built Fort Rosalie, within the territory of the Natchez Indians, and afterwards proceeded to treat the Indians with increasing contempt, until they even went so far as to demand that the natives should abandon their chief town. The wrongs of their injured brethren coming to the ears of the Cherokees, they counselled revenge, and on November, 28, 1729, every Frenchman in that colony was slaughtered excepting two, and the women and children. Two months later the French and Choctaws retaliated, and in two years' time scarcely a soul was left of the ill-fated Natchez.

Without dwelling on the continued warfare for ten years between the French and Chickasaws, we proceed to the detail of other settlements. French explorers journeyed westward into the country of the Osages, the Pawnees, and the Missouri Indians.³

These efforts at possession aroused the jealousy of the Spaniards, and a caravan left Santa Fé in 1720, and marched in search of the Pawnee villages. The intention of the Spaniards was to surprise, if possible, the nation of the Missouris, who at that time dwelt not far from the Kansas river; to conquer them, and to establish a settlement within their territory. At that time the Missouris were at war with the Pawnees, and the Span-

iards purposed to join the Pawnees and war upon the Missouris. Instead of finding the Pawnee village, they unwittingly reached a Missouri village and were completely deceived, as the language of the two nations differed but little. The Spaniards were thus entirely thrown off their guard and freely divulged their plans. The Indians did not undeceive them, but requested time to assemble their warriors. Within forty-eight hours two thousand appeared under arms, and a grand feast was enjoyed by both parties. They then rested, but during the night the Indians arose and surprised the Spaniards, killing all excepting one priest. His life was saved and he was made to instruct them in horsemanship, he selecting the best horse for his own use. After a certain number of days of instruction in riding, he set whip to his horse and escaped to Santa Fé, and told of the disaster. The exact spot where this took place is not certainly known. It may have been near Kansas City, or else in Saline county, Missouri. I have, in fact, seen an ancient fortified place in Saline county, four miles southwest from Miami. This old fortification seems to have covered twenty acres of ground, upon which now stand trees, some of which measure over three feet in diameter, the whole surrounded by three ditches, and walls showing three feet difference in elevation. Near this locality the Missouri Indians did at one time dwell, and were afterwards driven west by the Osages.

After this occurrence the French, becoming somewhat alarmed, sent out De Bourgmont, who built a fort

¹ *Western Annals.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Stoddard's Louisiana.*

called Fort Orleans on an island in the Missouri, not far below where the town of Brunswick now stands. This island has since been washed away. At that time the Missouri Indians also dwelt upon the north side of the Missouri river, and during the latter part of the last century were driven across, and for a while were established in Saline county, but were finally driven west by the Osages. Fort Orleans only existed five years. De Bourgmont brought about a peace with the various tribes in 1724, and soon after his fort was attacked and totally destroyed.¹

Kaskaskia must have contained permanent settlements, for there are records of deeds to land there of date 1712, and in 1721 it contained a Jesuit college. In 1766 Kaskaskia contained one hundred families. Cahokia was settled soon after Kaskaskia, Fort Chatres was built in 1719, and rebuilt in 1754. Deeds are of record of lands at Fort Chatres and Cahokia of date 1722. Fort Chatres was for a while the seat of government of the Illinois country, and Colonel Pitman, a British officer who visited the country, says that the commandant or governor in 1756 had his headquarters at Fort Chatres. Beck informs us² that after a flood in the river the headquarters of the government were moved to Kaskaskia in 1772. The Illinois country was ceded to the English in 1763, but was not really taken possession of until 1765.

St. Ange de Bellerive then commanded at Fort Chatres as lieutenant-governor of the district of Illinois,

and retreated to St. Louis in 1765. The first court of justice was held at Fort Chatres in 1768. Vivier, writing in 1750, says: "We have, in Illinois, near Kaskaskia, whites, negroes, Indians and half breeds. In the five French villages within twenty-one miles are perhaps one thousand one hundred whites, three hundred blacks, sixty Indians. Most of the French till the soil; they raise wheat, cattle, pigs and horses, and live like princes."³

Up to 1763 the country on both sides of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio was called the country of the Illinois. When the east side was turned over to the British in 1763, the country on the west was called upper Louisiana, and St. Louis was the headquarters, or capital. The records show that wheat was raised in Illinois in 1720, and in that year De la Motte opened the mines in Missouri still known by his name, and La Renault opened other mines in Washington county from 1721 to 1743, and in 1763 Francis Burton discovered the mines of Potosi.⁴ Beck⁵ informs us of the early settlements of St. Genevieve and New Bourbon (a few miles south), and they have authenticated traditions of settlements in 1735; and the St. Gens family have records of transfer of property in the post of St. Genevieve of the Illinois dated in 1854. The flood of 1875 destroyed the old town of St. Genevieve, and the present town was built near the bluffs.

Kaskaskia furnished supplies to the smaller towns, including Fort Chartres, St. Genevieve, and New

¹ Beck; *Gazetteer of Missouri, and Western Annals.*

² *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri.*

³ *Western Annals.*

⁴ Schoolcraft.

⁵ *Gazetteer Missouri 1823.*

Bourbon, and the citizens spoke desirously of these places, applying the term *misère* to St. Genevieve, *pain court* (short of bread) to St. Louis, *vide poche* to Carondelet, and *pouilleux* (lousy) to Kaskaskia. In 1784 Kaskaskia and Cahokia¹ had a population of four hundred and forty. In 1750 New Orleans had one thousand two hundred inhabitants, and ten miles up the river was a German settlement where tobacco of good quality was raised. In 1749 the Ohio company obtained leave to settle on a grant of five hundred thousand acres on the Ohio river in the disputed territory. They employed Chris-Gist to explore it. He passed down the Ohio and up the Miami to the town of Twightees, one hundred and fifty miles above its mouth. On June 18, 1752, the treaty of Logstown was effected by the Virginia commissioners with the Northwest Indians, in which the Indians agreed not to disturb any settlements southeast of the Ohio river. Gist then proceeded to lay off a town a little below Pittsburgh at Chatres creek.

The governor of Canada directed the erection of forts at Presque Isle on Lake Erie, at the head of French creek at La Boeuof, and at the mouth of French creek Fort Venango was erected. General (then Major) Washington was sent by the governor of Virginia to remonstrate against these settlements. The after result was the war signalized at its beginning by Braddock's defeat at Point Coupee. In 1754 three hundred families left France for the purpose of settling around Vincennes. In 1768, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Iroquois

relinquished all claims to territory south of the Ohio, and by this the other treaties of 1684 and 1726 were confirmed. Sir William Johnson was present on the part of the British colonies, and there were also representatives from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, together with Delawares, Shawnees, and the Six Nations.

In 1758 Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle county, Virginia, explored the mountain valleys of southwest Virginia, and east Tennessee, and the upper portion of Kentucky, and gave a name to the Cumberland river and to the Cumberland mountains. In 1769 Colonel Joseph Martin, also of Albemarle, Virginia, with others, took steps to form a settlement in Powell's valley.²

These explorers prepared the way for further progress westward; for instance, Daniel Boone, in 1769, visited Kentucky, and in 1775 he again came and erected a fort, and began the settlements at Boonsboro. In 1769 the first settlement was formed on the banks of the Watauga, then others on the Holston; and in 1772 James Robertson and John Sevier adopted laws for the government of the colony. They next called a convention from that and neighboring settlements, including Nolichucky and Carter's valley, to meet at Watauga, and this may be considered the first assembly called together to establish laws for the government of colonies in the then new west. The Kentucky convention met several years later, and was the first that met entirely west of the mountains. Their legislative assemblies continued during six years, until 1778, when

¹ Roosevelt.

² *Western Annals.*

North Carolina organized the county of Washington, including all of Tennessee.¹ Virginia claimed all west of Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and the Virginians (or long knives) were the only foe the red man feared. In 1768 a treaty was made at Stanwix with the Iroquois, they relinquishing all title to the country between the Ohio and Tennessee. October 14, 1768, a treaty was effected at Hardlabor, South Carolina, with the Cherokees, confirmed by a second treaty, October 18, 1770, by which the right was confirmed to the Cherokees to hunt on certain territory. In 1772 Virginia made a treaty with the Cherokees, the latter to remain south of a line running west from White top mountain, latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$. The British agent being likely to cause trouble, Robertson and the settlers on the Watauga made a lease of lands, paying six thousand pounds sterling value in goods. A second treaty was made in 1776 by buying the same territory.

In 1775 Henderson called together the colonists of Boonsboro, Harrodsburgh, Boiling Spring and St. Asaph's for the purpose of forming some kind of government. The convention adjourned without accomplishing much and did not again meet. At the earnest request of George Rogers Clark, in 1776, Virginia admitted Kentucky as one of her counties, with Harrodsburgh as county seat. In 1778 all the territory northwest of the Ohio was formed into one county called Illinois, with John Todd commandant; and in 1781 Virginia ceded to congress all her claim to this territory. In 1780 Virginia made grants of land in Kentucky for educational

purposes,² and in the same year the territory was divided into three counties—Fayette, Jefferson, and Lincoln.³

In 1781 a territorial organization of Kentucky was effected, and in 1786 Virginia agreed that Kentucky should form an independent organization. In 1785 Kentucky contained twelve thousand inhabitants.

Thus far it seems to be proven that there were settlements west of the Alleghanys prior to 1776. A number of forts were established in the territory now included in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas. Mr. Roosevelt informs us that in 1769 a settlement was made in the Watauga valley between the prolongation of the Blue Ridge and the Cumberland mountains. Speaking of the settlers generally in their dealings with the Indians, he says: "The English drove the natives away and took possession of their lands; the Spanish sat down in their midst." He further says, "that the names of Ethan Allen and Marion are better known than that of George Rogers Clark, yet their deeds, as regards their effects, could no more be compared to his than his to Washington." Sam Houston is another man whom he places high on the list of heroes. "In the northwest the army went first, then the settler. In the southwest, Sevier, Robertson, Clarke, and Boone, led their fellow pioneers to battle as Jackson did afterward, and Sam Houston later still. . . . The southwestern settlements won their own soil for themselves." He pays great tribute to the courage and indomitable perseverance

¹ Roosevelt.

² *Western Annals.*

³ Mann Butler.

of the pioneer settler of the southwest from the Watauga to the Alamo.

The early settlers were largely of Scotch or Irish descent, or a mingling of the two, and were chiefly Presbyterians in religion. A few years later the Baptists came, and still later the Methodists. Classes of more aristocratic origin began to emigrate from Virginia to Kentucky about 1783, but the pioneer element ruled up to 1796, when Benjamin Logan was defeated for governor.

In Tennessee the Indian fighters continued to give tone to the social life in the state up to the time of their death. The first settlers were chiefly of stock originally Irish and Scotch, who drifted down the valley of Virginia, and thence west to Kentucky. To quote Roosevelt once

more: "The backwoodsmen were Americans by birth and parentage, and of mixed race, but the dominant tint of their blood was that of the Presbyterian Irish. The Watauga settlers outlined in advance the nation's work. They tamed the rugged and shaggy wilderness, they bade defiance to outside foes, and successfully solved the difficult problem of self-government. . . . No Europeans could have held their own for a fortnight in Kentucky,¹ and the west could never have been conquered in the teeth of so formidable and ruthless a foe, had it not been for the personal prowess of the pioneers themselves." The land was conquered not so much by the actual shock of battle between bodies of soldiers, as by continuous westward movement.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

¹ Viz., at Boonsboro.



THE HEROINE OF THE ALAMO.

DURING a recent visit to San Antonio I determined to discover, if possible, the retreat of a woman to whom history has strangely denied her legitimate place, but who is well known among the "Latin-Americans" as a sinister relic of an inglorious past. Long regarded as a myth by denizens from the northern cities, the actual existence of Madame Candalario was established not long since by the Legislature of Texas, in the granting of a pension, and also by a portrait conspicuously placed on the walls of the court house in San Antonio. This portrait, in oil, hangs near the Soladad entrance, and is inscribed, "An old friend of the United States." Her connection with the Battle of the Alamo is no longer a doubt.

In Edward King's "Visit to San Antonio," published in "Scribner's Magazine," January 1874, we find a description of that battle, the most heroic, the saddest, the most unprecedented in American history, concluded with these words: "The Texans fought like demons, but were finally overpowered and were all put to death. Two women, their two children and a negro boy were the only survivors of this dreadful massacre; and but one, a Mexican woman, is alive to-day."

The history of this Mexican woman is interwoven with the annals of Texas, as Spanish colony and Mexican State, long before her name became synonymous with the horrors of

the Alamo. We have different periods of a life, mysteriously prolonged, that was part of troubled times long passed, but incredibly near to the present for her. And so interesting, so filled with romance and adventure, interwoven with valid, historic fact, that the greatest wonder is the obscurity in which this strange woman has lived, and possibly could have lived in no other city of the United States, for so many years. It is certain that there is not another city between the Dominion of Canada and the Rio Grande so rich in authentic, unwritten history as San Antonio. The entrance of the first railroad, about eighteen years since, infused new life into the old Spanish town. There were few indeed to bring its hidden stores to light. But now that a brilliant cosmopolitan city has sprung up among the pecan and huisache groves, it is strange that the "new people" from the north find so little time, beyond an occasional visit to the ruins of the Franciscan Missions, to give to researches into so fruitful a past.

Withheld for some time by my American friends from venturing into the Mexican precinct, I at length, through the assistance of a gentleman in the mayor's office, secured an intelligent and gentlemanly Mexican escort and interpreter to accompany me to Madame Candalario's house. We passed through several of those streets which oftenest furnish items for the famous Bat Cave register,

frequently under yellow flags inscribed with the word "Virulas," and paused before a gate over which were the sharply accented English words," "Keep Out." Notwithstanding this admonition we entered a courtyard and then a little, fort-like adobe building in which sat Madame Candalario, over an open fire, though the day was oppressively warm.

Her portrait in the court house was not nearly so exaggerated as I had supposed, for there came to us, lean-

important points of an interview which had such special interest for me, and which, notwithstanding its isothermic discomfort, was prolonged for several hours.

She was born in Laredo, in 1785, to Antoine Casdanon and wife, and was baptized Andrea by the parish priest. In this remote Mexican town she grew to be a woman dwarfish in stature and not robust in health, but if her memory is correct, for there is no other to bear witness, she made a



MADAME CANDALARIO.

ing on her cane, a little, witch-like old woman, enveloped in a tapola, whose eyes peered at us through a blue film, and whose brown skin was shrivelled and furrowed beyond resemblance to anything human. Strange to tell, this woman, a centenarian, retains every sense but that of sight, unimpaired, and possesses an active memory which it is impossible to trip into an inaccuracy.

I will endeavor to epitomize the

reputation as *Ama de casa*, preparing such delicacies as *tortilla* and variations of the everlasting *chili con carne*, with a success that indicates the receipts were lost among other national treasures; a peaceful girlhood passed into the lap of danger. In 1810 Andrea was married and accompanied her husband to San Antonio. At this time Texas we know was already a troublesome possession to old Spain. Revolting Mexicans with am-

bitious American allies, were continually in arms, and their fluctuating fortunes made most unfortunate the condition of the more peaceable inhabitants. There were large numbers of people from "the States," chiefly Kentuckians, settling about San Antonio, and, says Madame Candalario, through her interpreter, for her English is very uncertain, and my Spanish equally so, "they were tall men, who carried muskets and wore fringe on their coats." (probably the fringed buckskin suits of the Kentucky hunters.) That these tall Kentucky men were not asleep during the disturbances may be readily understood. The year 1830 was one of the most troubled in the turbulent past of Texas. The defeat and murder of the gallant Spanish General Salcedo, and the consequent massacre at Medina were followed by continuous scenes of blood and terror. Alert treachery and eager cruelty were the main characteristics of those strangely mixed and commingled nationalities and "the brave old town of San Antonio" was the center of several notable insurrections. To quell one of these came General Arrendo in the fall of 1813, and he brought with him a young sprig of a cadet from a military school in Mexico, whom he made a lieutenant and put in command of a company. This youngster's name was Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna.

A battle was fought at Posetos, a suburb of San Antonio in which the Spaniards were victorious. The rebels were fiercely punished by Arrendo; very nearly all the men of the town and surrounding country, and many of the women were set to grinding corn in that part of the

city, now Quinto street, then known as the Quinto. The corn thus laboriously ground with heavy iron spikes was appropriated to making bastimento (hard tack) for the soldiers. When Arrendo was summoned elsewhere Lieut. Santa Anna remained behind.

His first meeting with Senora Candalario is indefinite but after the quelling of the insurrection he boarded in company with herself and husband in the house of a woman destined to become the mother-in-law of the infant Candalario, trussed in its basket among the clumps of mesquite brush, like Moses in the bulrushes. Tradition gives to Madame Candalario a comely appearance in youth; we know that she was a remarkable woman even then; one whose resolute spirit to do and dare had already been demonstrated. Santa Anna's ferocious bravery was mingled with half-savage knight-errantry, as records tell, and he readily recognized the metal of which this little Mexican woman was made. How social life was conducted in this sequestered nondescript town eighty years ago we cannot know, but Santa Anna was accustomed to the stirring life of the city of Mexico, and his friendship with Andrea Candalario must have greatly contributed to making endurable his *villeggiatura* in San Antonio. In those days, if not in these, friendship between a vivacious married lady and an impressionable youth might degenerate in sentiment —*presto maduro, presto podrida*. But there is no record to show more than ordinary good fellowship of enduring quality between this hero and heroine of long ago.

Inured to hardship and danger, a wife whose household duties included that of reloading her husband's musket, a mother guarding her babe in ambush, the young matron of those troubled times must have had little heart for social follies. And this archaic relic brings to posterity only a good and patriotic report.

It was to her acquaintance with Santa Anna that Madame Candalaria was indebted for exemption from beating corn on the Quinto as, long after, she was indebted to the same source for the saving of her life. She vividly recalls the early appearance of the "Napoleon of the West." He was not tall but had a martial bearing, he had a beautiful face, and wore rich clothes—*el esplendido Santa Anna, prospero, animo.*

For a long period San Antonio, crouching among her groves of live oak and pecan, saw many troubled days, of which Madame Candalaria tells little that is important, or of her personal experiences. She became the mother of a family of children, all dead long ago, but their descendants are about her. Virginia, a girl of fourteen, with Anglo-Saxon blood bleaching her complexion, stood in the background during my visit and regarded me silently with her narrow, blue-black eyes. A girl whose position is exceedingly unfortunate in the light in which Mexicans are regarded both by Americans and Spaniards—beautiful, ill-chanced and without mother, except for the great-great-grandmother whose little adobe fort she shares.

The most interesting of Madame Candalaria's reminiscences date from the breaking out of the war between

Texas and Mexico, and especially from that time, when, during an ominous calm resting upon San Antonio, the Texan Congress prepared to issue its declaration of independence. General Bowie lay ill of typhoid fever and his little army awaited that turn in events which was to come upon them sooner than they dreamed. Madame Candalaria was now an enthusiastic rebel. What was in her power to do to assist the Texan army and their United States allies, she did with all her might in the face of all impending dangers, and she it was who was General Bowie's attendant during that last most unfortunate illness. It is from this period her memory is most active. Events of last year or yesterday may be forgotten, but at the mention of those stirring times or of the heroes of the Alamo, she is alert and will relate incidents, and describe the scenes she witnessed with never failing accuracy. She takes great pride in her adherence to the side of Texas, and the invaluable assistance which she believes she rendered the cause, always styling herself an old friend of the United States, though the lone-star flag was not blended with the stars and stripes for several years later.

Two nights previous to the opening of the siege of the Alamo and with that horrid massacre so close at hand, a ball was given at a hall in Acequia street, which was attended by a number of General Bowie's officers, in search of one of whom Madame Candalaria was sent at midnight. While standing in the hall, endeavoring to catch a glimpse of this person, a Spaniard, disguised in the dress of a citizen of the United

States, approached and petitioned her hand for the dance. She recognized him instantly to be her old acquaintance, Lieut. or rather Gen. Santa Anna. For once a special providence and a woman's caprice served one end, for, happily for her, the dance was not refused him.

If Madame Candalario had been all Spanish, if she had not been tinctured with the timid, short-sighted Aztec blood, she might have made use of this discovery and subsequent events have perhaps been averted. But it is not easy to appreciate at this date the bewildering and sinister position of a woman so situated.

In this hall on this gala night, "the night before Waterloo," handsome, gallant, ill-fated Davy Crockett was making love to the dark-eyed señoritas in execrable English, but, as is yet told and we may readily fancy, dancing with spirit and grace. Thirteen days later he lay in the street, on the spot where the Crockett block now stands, shot through the heart, the first of that brave band to fall.

No battle-field of America ever witnessed a struggle so heroic, no band of patriots ever so deliberately yielded themselves a holocaust to their country as did those enclosed within the walls of the Alamo. In recognition of their unprecedented and sublime self-immolation, the State will very soon erect, on Alamo plaza, a monument to her heroes. For the tragedy of the Alamo became the inspiration of San Jacinto.

During the entire seige the wife and little daughter of Lieut. Dickinson were hidden in the fastness of an old nun's cell, and in an opposite cell Madame Candalario was caring for

the dying Bowie. The marvelous memory of this strange woman throws much light upon that fearful time. She tells how Dickinson, made insane by despair, or with a wild hope of escaping through those swarming hordes without, to beg assistance of the nearest allies, sprang from the wall one dark night, with his little son strapped to his side. Both were instantly killed.

It was this same elfish and extraordinary woman who helped Seguin off upon that strange trip up the stream which flows under the walls of the Alamo. With bottled letters under his arm he made his way at night under the surface of the water to a place beyond the outer ring of the Mexican army, and succeeded in reaching the nearest friendly settlement. His mission failed, there was no salvation for the imprisoned band at San Antonio, but the State of Texas does honor to an heroic exploit in the thriving little city of Seguin.

When at length the purpose of the rebels was accomplished, and the exasperated Santa Anna detained at San Antonio long enough to give the Texans at Gonzalas time to gather strength from the interior, the women within the fort heard the order of Colonel Evans to fire the magazine. This was on the morning of that dreadful 6th of March, 1836. A vault-like apartment without windows, where the altar boys lighted their candles in the days when the Alamo was a cloister, had been improvised into a magazine. As Col. Evans, torch in hand, stood at the entrance of this place a Mexican cannon ball at length made a breach in the wall

and struck him dead. The hero martyrs, one hundred and seventy-two in number, were now at the mercy of seven thousand foes, and were brutally butchered. The dauntless woman kneeling beside the dying Bowie was wounded in the throat by a bayonet aimed at her charge. There is much of an unrevealed past "locked up in hieroglyphic" in that puckered skin, but the heavy scar in her brown throat tells its own story.

By the order of Gen. Santa Anna the wounded woman was safely conveyed through the horde of butchers swarming the streets to the Cathedral of San Fernandino, and soon after set at liberty. She was a rebel, but even the ferocious Spaniard was in-

fluenced sometimes by the dear conceit of early memories.

They never met again, and when, after San Jacinto, Texas, was free, Madame Candalario retired to her quiet home to live on and on through the wonderful changes of the century. Her memory of the war with Mexico is so accurate that it is impossible to detect an inconsistency in her statements, and her descriptions of the generals she knew, and of *el esplendido* Santa Anna more than any, is in keeping with all that is known of them.

A visit to this weird old dame is thrillingly interesting. It lingers in the memory of one of her guests with the haunting persistence of her solemn parting words: "Dios te bendigo, Senora, Adios."

MENA KEMP OGAN.



"CAMP ON THE MISSOURI"—OLD FORT ATKINSON.

THE history of the old frontier post on the Missouri River, within the present confines of Washington County, and now known as Fort Calhoun, is one of the most obscure subjects relating to the occupation, settlement and development of Nebraska.¹

The first mention of this beautiful place after the Louisiana purchase, is that made by Capt. Meriwether Lewis, who with his sailboats and two horses traveled from the ancient Iowa village near the mouth of the Boyer river in a westerly direction, on the 30th of July, 1804, and landed at the foot of the high river bank now due east of the present Fort Calhoun railway station, a distance of three and one fourth miles from his starting point. This was probably at that time the mutual meeting place of the Indian tribes who lived in that vicinity. Describing the place he says, "The land here consists of a plain above the high-water level, the soil of which is fertile and covered with grass from five to eight feet high, interspersed with copses of large plums and a currant like those of the United States. Back of this plain is a woody ridge, about seventy feet above it, at the end of which we formed our camp. Still back of this is a prairie with grass ten or twelve inches high, extending back about a mile to another elevation of eighty or ninety feet, beyond which is one continued plain." This place is further de-

scribed as being situated one day's journey from the Otoes, one and a half from the Great Pawnees, two from the Mahas, two and a half from the Pawnee Loups, convenient to the hunting grounds of the Sioux and twenty-five days journey from Santa Fe. It was to this lovely spot that the name of Camp Missouri was applied by the engineers of Major Long and the army of Gen. Atkinson, and which sixteen years later was the busy home of some twelve hundred men, in the uniform and under the banner of the United States. It was the greatest western outpost of our little regular army during the administrations of President Monroe and John Quincy Adams, and continued for a period of eight full years to be the advanced guard of our government against the turbulence of Indian tribes and of British aggression. Mr. Wilson Price Hunt and his party and Mr. Manuel Lisa and his foreign trappers and *voyaguers* alone had touched its shores, spread their tents and admired its beauties.

Seventy-three years ago, Charlton, Missouri, was the nearest post-office to Nebraska soil and was the address of the officers and men of this army of occupation during its stay in Nebraska.

The administration of Monroe, admonished by our experience with Great Britain in the second war with that power, began, early in 1817, preparations to establish a line of posts

¹ A paper read before the Nebraska State Historical Society.

from Lake Michigan westerly to the mouth of the Yellowstone river. Black Hawk and his band of British Sax and Foxes had been both uniformed and armed, enlisted and arrayed, and actually participated in the battles at some western posts during the war of 1812. Many hundreds of Indians along the forty-ninth parallel then carried British fusées and hunted the buffalo and the elk with British powder and ball. This continued, notwithstanding the treaty of peace with that power, and our citizens were overpowered and driven from our hunting grounds by unfriendly menaces from the subjects of our adversary, who were also reaping the rich profits from the Rocky Mountain fur trade upon American soil. It was to reassert American supremacy to the Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Montana and our own Nebraska land, that appropriations were made and two expeditions fitted out under the act of Congress at the instance of President Monroe and Calhoun, his Secretary of War, the one following the Mississippi and the other the Missouri river, the one resulting in the occupation of the Rock Island, Prarie du Chien and the Falls of St. Anthony on the Mississippi, and the other being known as the Yellowstone expedition, the first under Col. Leavenworth and the last under that superb veteran, Gen. Henry Atkinson.

The movement of the army under Gen. Atkinson was commenced in the year 1818, but the riflemen from Col. Talbot Chambers' regiment proceeded no further than Cow Island in the Missouri river, south of the fortieth parallel north latitude. Here

the companies of Captains McGee, Martin and Riley of our rifle regiment constructed Cantonment Martin, and waited for the advance of Gen. Atkinson the following season. This Capt. Riley was afterward the distinguished Gen. Bennet Riley, the founder of Fort Riley on the Santa Fe route, who by personal merit rose to his rank from the shoemaker's bench, a brave and true pioneer soldier.

The government went into the steamboat business in the year 1818 and not only chartered Col. James Johnson's line of steamers for this expedition but constructed that neat little sidewheel craft named the "Western Engineer," capable of making three miles an hour, and under the command of Major Long and his engineers. Col. Johnson not only furnished the steamboats for the expedition but purchased the commissary stores and entered under contract to transport the troops, the commissary and quartermaster's goods, and the ordinance and ammunition of war from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Yellowstone river. This contract also authorized the expenditure of large sums of money amounting to about the one third of a million dollars, and an equal amount for his own services and transportation. The ordinance and stores weighed nearly five hundred tons and some sixty-three thousand dollars were advanced Col. Johnson by the government. The steamboats furnished by him were named the Expedition, the Johnson, the Jefferson, and the Calhoun, and reached St. Louis just in time to meet the June rise of the Missouri river. After serious delays on account of drift-

wood and injuries to his boats Gen. Atkinson and staff finally embarked about the fifth of July, 1819, but did not pass St. Charles until the eleventh. None of these boats reached their destination and the Calhoun was so weak in her machinery that she was unable to go beyond Boone's Landing, near the present railway station of Washington on the Missouri river. Two of the boats reached the little French settlement opposite the mouth of the Osage, and the fourth failed before she reached the mouth of the Kaw river. Gen. Atkinson's men were compelled to assist the contractor in transferring his goods from the boats to barges and keel boats, which were propelled up the stream by human strength, by the use of ropes and pulleys attached to the trees on the low river banks. It was a weary march of great privations to the men and resulted in the loss of Col. Johnson's entire fortune. His bills for transportation being refused by the action of Congress, it was not until late in September that the army reached the Council Bluff, still one thousand miles short of their destination. The delay was providential as the presence of an army was never greatly needed in the Dakota country until the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway, many years afterward.

The troops of this new expedition consisted of the rifle regiment commanded by Col. Chambers and the sixth infantry under Major A. Cummings, three detachments of artillery, in all about twelve hundred men, the whole being under the command of Gen. Atkinson. The sixth regiment marched or rather

tugged as history now shows, on foot and on barges, a distance of 2628 miles from Plattsburg, New York, to their new camp on the Missouri river, and their endurance was only less remarkable than the debates in Congress upon the Missouri compromise. The riflemen came from Philadelphia, Prairie du Chien and Baton Rouge.

Upon a September morning, worthy of a poet's pen, and in which Nebraska stands alone by reason of her temperature and scenery, a small body of horsemen rounded the Rockport hill from Lisa's trading house (known in after years as Cabaher Fort) climbed the ascent to the undulating lands of the Garryowen settlement of Washington county as it is now known. In this cavalcade was Gen. Atkinson in full regiments, his adjutant, orderly, Col. Chambers, Dr. Gale, Gov. Clark of Missouri, then ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs, Major O'Fallen with other officers and servants, and a small body of footmen. The procession proceeded by the foothills of Calhoun, crossing Turkey Creek and following the beautiful semi-circle, until the scene of this sketch was reached. When they came to the present vicinity of the Calhoun depot they filed to the right and advanced in an easterly direction until they reached the Council Bluff, so well known to Gov. Clark, who sixteen years before was the "Redhair" at the Indian council held there by himself and Capt. Lewis. From this bluff, where for years the Indians had driven the buffalo to destruction in their annual hunt, was located the new camp of the little

army and the eight years' occupation began. There was not a mile of railway in all the United States. There was not a white settler in the State of Iowa excepting Julian Dubuque and a score of French miners on the Mississippi river. The wild bees had not reached the linden bloom, nor sucked the golden rod of this far off land. In a short time the sixth regiment reached this same point and the Yellowstone expedition began to construct its winter quarters. It was at once christened with the name of Camp Missouri, and its log houses soon demonstrated the industry of American soldiers.

Gen. Atkinson, notwithstanding the popular misapprehension and newspaper abuse of this expedition, was a real hero upon this occasion and suffered many privations. His little army and his colored servant were his admirers and friends. His invention to propel flat boats, which consisted of a long, unwieldy crank, had served only to blister their hands as they tugged, not in vain, against the current and drifts of floating timber. Notwithstanding which they loved him. He was a veteran of the war of 1812, but not a graduate of West Point. His greatest achievement was in after years when he won the heart and grasped the hand of Miriam Bullet and led her to the altar as his bride. He continued at this camp in command of these forces until October 21st, 1821, when he was succeeded by Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth, being promoted to the rank of brigadier general and placed in the command of the department of the Mississippi, with headquarters at St. Louis. In

1822 he visited the camp again but returned in the autumn by Fort Smith to St. Louis. At the close of the Arickari war in 1823 he visited the camp again, returning to St. Louis in November. His fourth and last visit of which we have any record was in the year 1825, when he fitted out his army for an expedition into the Crow country from which he returned in November. It was upon this expedition that the wild Crows came near outgeneraling him. While in the act of writing his treaty they filled the touch-holes of his cannon with dirt and then raised a tumult, which by good fortune was quelled in time and his life and army saved.

After the promotion of Gen. Atkinson in 1821 the place was no longer called Camp Missouri, but all correspondence from it thereafter is dated Fort Atkinson. From that time Col. Leavenworth was in command until December 1825, when he was made Colonel of the Seventh regiment and went into the Indian Territory to take his command. He was succeeded by Col. Wooley, who commanded the post until its evacuation in June, 1827. Fort Atkinson was always, however, in the department and under the general command of its old commander.

The rifle regiment remained until the fall of 1821, when the post was occupied wholly by the sixth, until some time in 1823 when it received reinforcements owing to the Arickari war which was conducted from Fort Atkinson under the command of Col. Leavenworth. It numbered at that time 371 officers and men, present and absent, and received seven new lieutenants from West Point, who

traveled a new route to their post of duty, going up the Hudson river, following the Great Lakes, thence crossing over to Prairie du Chien, thence by St. Louis to the camp.

When the whole army arrived in 1819 it numbered 1120 officers and men besides the servants. We do not believe that this number includes the three detachments of artillery accredited the post. The camp as laid out was located upon an elevation with the Missouri river upon the east, Hook's hollow on the south, a deep ravine on the west, and covered a tract of land about 1320 feet square. The north was commanded by a strong stockade and in the centre of this enclosure was the jack-pole upon the color line which extended east and west, and is about the centre of Madison street of old Fort Calhoun as surveyed in 1855. The block lying southeast of the jack-pole was chosen by Gov. Izard when he was taken into the old Fort Calhoun land company and his name is now so marked with ink upon the original plot. About fifty feet east of the jack-pole is an old cellar walled with brick and overgrown with vines where probably stood the building occupied by the commander as headquarters. About fifty feet to the west of the jack-pole and running thence north about three hundred feet are the ruins of one line of barracks still plainly marked and probably occupied by the officers as headquarters. From the north end of the officers' barracks running thence west about three hundred feet is a row of soldiers' barracks consisting of log houses without foundations. From the west end

of the soldiers' barracks running thence south about three hundred feet were the cook houses without brick foundations, and where the kitchen wastes were afterwards found in great quantities. South of the color line some thirty feet and extending from the south end of the kitchen for a distance of near five hundred feet was another row of soldiers' barracks in the middle of which were constructed large fireplaces attested by piles of ashes and brickwork to show their exact location. South of the east end of the barracks was situated the old trading post of Major O'Fallen, and a road was digged down the bluff from that point to the mouth of Hooks hollow to the steamboat landing and paved with hard brick. A thousand feet still further east of this south row of barracks was the commissary buildings. These ran out to near the edge of the river banks near a bluff thence north and about three hundred and forty feet east of the jack-pole, and upon a line with the south end of the officers' barracks stood the hospital building, some of the brick-work still remaining there. A little northwest of this are the ruins of an old well and beyond it is a steeper road leading down the bluff to the boat landing. The remains would indicate that this latter road leads from the boat landing to the artillery park, and a line of stables is indicated as having been constructed north of this park on a line with the original survey of Court street. A large number of caves or caches were digged in this bluff the remains of which show for themselves, and then extended for seven hundred feet along

the bluffs. These were possibly the winter quarters of the soldiers when pressed with cold weather to seek shelter from the terrific storms of the northwest. The sufferings of our soldiers at this camp were intense. The timber was cottonwood and elm, stoves not being in use at the time. North of the soldiers' barracks and within the rifle pits stood the stockade, the dimensions of which are now forgotten. It was constructed of logs and was large and well-nigh impregnable. These works were constructed early in the fall of 1819 and are mentioned in the report of the Secretary of War to Congress of date November 30th, as being ample for the protection of one thousand men.

The cannon numbered nine six pounders, one four pounder, and five twenty-four pounder howitzers, four hundred and twenty fusees, six hundred and forty-five muskets and six hundred and twenty-five rifles, and necessary accoutrements to aid in the holding the position rendered strong by nature.

The presence of Gov. Clark in the Indian country was the first step taken by the government to reduce the Nebraska aborigines to agency Indians, which after three quarters of a century of expenditure and suffering is only a partial success. Right lustily did Big Elk and White Cow with their four hundred Omahas shout its praises. Upon invitation they reached the camp on the 14th of October, and were addressed by Major O'Fallen, Mr. Dougherty and other white men. Both chiefs spoke upon this occasion and the whole band joined in the revelry which fol-

lowed. Not long after this the Pawnees came also and the festivities were extended to the camp of Major Long's engineers, who were encamped on the land now owned by the Union Pacific Railway Company at the northeasterly point of the Rockport Hills. Big Elk was lionized by the white people and assumed to go where he pleased and to do what he liked with impunity. At near midnight he pleased to attempt an entrance into Manual Lisa's trading house but was promptly knocked down at the door with a whiskey keg by the owner or one of his clerks. This offence was afterward atoned for by the keg and its contents. The eight thousand dollars appropriated by Congress was used in presents distributed to the chiefs and in the construction of an agency building.

The hunting was good and game was plentiful in September, but the presence of a thousand Indians and more than a thousand soldiers and hunters soon banished the buffalo and all larger game so that by December it was impossible to find a hoof in less than about one hundred miles, although in February the hunters killed twelve bison near the Big Sioux river which were given the camp in honor of the day.

More than one hundred deaths occurred by March 8th owing to the scurvy which broke out in the camp, due to the want of fresh meat and antiscorbutics. Three hundred sick men were sent down the Missouri in barges bound for the hospitals at St. Louis. Major Long's engineers fared better although their camp was only five miles to the south and east of camp Missouri. They were under a

less exacting discipline, were better provided with hunters, and were allowed to kill the rabbits with musket balls, of which Corporal Norman killed twenty-seven in one day. The death rate at Fort Atkinson was always high owing to the sickness of the soldiers, the arduous duties they performed, the exacting discipline they were under and the home sickness and privations to which they were subjected.

The Fort proper is not a matter of mere conjecture, as many marks yet remain to show where and how the soil was broken and the structures erected. Stone in large quantities was used and brick was moulded and burned at the point of the hill south of the boat landing; a lime kiln was erected near the blacksmith shop, a paved way was constructed from these bricks along the main wagon road. Brick and mortar and stone were used extensively in the construction of foundations of houses and in the construction of old-fashioned chimneys and fireplaces, and in the powder-magazines the remains of which stood until a few years ago.

The government also went into the farming business and established an experiment station, providing abundance of seeds of all kinds excepting seed corn. This they bought from the Omahas as it was considered best adapted to the climate. A large tract of land was put in a fine state of cultivation, a farm was enclosed and stocked with horses and cattle. Vegetables abounded in abundance and the camp was maintained almost self-supporting after the first year and during the last few years of its

occupation. The farm extended to the northeast corner of the old Paddock place, east and north one mile square. A large cottonwood tree still marks the corner of this traditional tract. Thousands of bushels of corn were grown upon this farm and ground at the Government grist mill. A good saw mill was also constructed and the native walnuts and elms with other timbers were turned into lumber.

The pioneers of Platt county, Missouri, came to the Fort Atkinson mills with their grain and marketed their meal along the river to St. Louis. An account is given by some one in which it is stated that one large load was marketed in New Orleans.

During the occupation of Fort Atkinson it had many eminent visitors besides those already mentioned, among whom was Major Long and his engineers, Dr. James, the surgeon and historian of his explorations, Gen. John E. Wood, inspector general of our armies, and Lieut. Jefferson Davis, afterward President of the Confederacy, who were there upon detached duty. Gen. W. S. Harney visited the place and Gen. Albert Sydney Johnson was a brevet second lieutenant and served his apprenticeship here. Lieut. Van Swearengen and other martyrs of the Florida war first learned to be soldiers at Fort Atkinson. Old Ben Riley studied the Indian character here and the accomplished Col. William Davenport and his estimable lady rode in the fashionable circles of Fort Atkinson among the wives and daughters of other prominent pioneer officers. The last distinguished visitor

was the veritable Major George Croghan at whose name the western Indians had often trembled. This was in the year 1826. He was inspector general of the army at the time and it is probable that this report determined the government to abandon the fort which it did in the June following. Fort Croghan is the name given to a camp on Cutoff Island, some distance east of the present Lead Works, where a boat was snagged and the troops were cast ashore. The army could not have wintered at Camp Croghan as narrated by Mr. Sorenson in his history of Omaha for the reason that upon the first of October, 1827, the sixth regiment was at Jefferson barracks, Missouri, and numbered eighty-four sick, nineteen on extra duty, thirteen under arrest, and two hundred and twenty-one present for duty. No mention is made in the army register of the division of this regiment at that time. Fort Atkinson was evacuated about the 27th of June of that year.

During the occupation of the fort some ten court martials were held of minor consequence, the reports of which are not before us.

After the abandonment of the fort it was never again occupied by the

troops and only occasionally visited before the extinguishment of the Indian title to the country. Lieut. G. K. Warren mentions having camped there when on his way up the Missouri river to make the survey of the Northern Pacific Railway. Neither Nicollet nor Fremont mentioned the place in their survey of the Missouri river, but it is certain that they took observations there and also tried to find the engineers' encampment in 1839.

The location is never mentioned by Gen. Atkinson other than as Our Camp on the Missouri. Upon the other hand it is always mentioned by Col. Leavenworth and other officers as Fort Atkinson in their correspondence with their superiors and with the Secretary of War. With reference to the name of Fort Calhoun, it is nowhere to be found in the reports prior to the year 1838, at which time Gen. Jessup recommended its occupation by the government, and inasmuch as the government was engaged during the years from 1819 to 1827 in constructing Fort Calhoun, Virginia, it is hardly probable that this place was called by the same name at the same time; in fact it was not a fort, although strong by nature and somewhat entrenched.¹

W. H. ELLER.

¹ The writer has made a plat of Fort Atkinson as nearly as it could be fashioned from the remains, land marks and information at his command. He personally visited and inspected the ground with Mr. A. W. Beals, its owner, and with Hon. E. N. Grinnel, who himself saw it when still in a state of nature. About one fourth of the entire plot still remains unbroken prairie land. He also found an old gunflint, some but-

tons and balls, and one small silver coin. The writer has for years enjoyed the acquaintance of Capt. Benjamin Contal, the son of the drum major of the sixth regiment, who was with his father at old Fort Atkinson from the spring of 1822 until its evacuation and who rose from a drummer boy to the rank of Captain of Cavalry in a fifteen years' service. His reminiscences are preserved by the Nebraska Historical Society.

THE RIDE OF PAUL REVERE.

He said to his friend, "if the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the North Church tower as a signal light."

COLONEL PAUL REVERE'S ride, commemorated by Longfellow in his famous poem, was but one of a series of momentous incidents in which as messenger and express to Portsmouth, New York, and Philadelphia, he carried intelligence on occasions of emergency. As a messenger he is said to have been steady, vigorous, sensible, and persevering, and he was the favorite courier of the continental congress. Revere was an ardent patriot, an associate of Hancock, Warren, Adams, and other leading patriots, and a chosen member of the Boston committee of correspondence, inspection, and safety.

At the time that he was selected by Dr. Warren, the president of this committee, for the important service of arousing the country at the first hostile movement of the British, he was thirty-two years old, and is described as being a handsome young man with dark hair and eyes, and strong and expressive face. He filled many high military offices, and was one of the chief actors in that memorable event, the "Boston tea party."

Paul Revere in a letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society, dated January 1, 1798, has given his own account of the events preceding that historic night, "the eighteenth of April in seventy-five," and his adventurous ride, in the following words:

"In the fall of 1774 and the winter of 1775 I was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers and gaining every intelligence of the movements of the tories.

"We held our meetings at the Green Dragon tavern. We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met, every person swore upon the Bible that he would not discover any of our transactions but to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Warren, Church, and one or two more.

"In the winter, towards the spring, we frequently took turns, two and two, to watch the soldiers by patrolling the streets all night.

"The Saturday night preceding the 19th of April, about twelve o'clock at night, the boats belonging to the transports were all launched and carried under the sterns of the men-of-war. We likewise found that the grenadiers and light infantry were all taken off duty. From these movements we suspected something serious was to be transacted.

"On Tuesday evening it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching toward Boston common. About ten o'clock Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me, begging that I would immediately set off for Lexing-

ton, where were Hancock and Adams, and acquaint them of the movements as it was thought they were the objects. On the Sunday before, I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen in Charlestown that if the British went out by water, we should show two lanterns in the North church steeple, and if by land, one, as a signal; for we apprehended that it would be difficult to cross

then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising. They landed me on the Charlestown shore." Meanwhile his friend, through alley and street
Wanders and watches with eager ears.

Captain John Pulling, a "high son of liberty," and an intimate friend of Paul Revere from boyhood, was entrusted with the arduous duty of making the signals when it should be certain whether the British went by



NEWS FROM LEXINGTON

over the Charles river to get over Boston neck.

"I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signal. I then went home (he lived in North square), took my boots and surtout, and went to the north part of the town, where I kept a boat. Two friends rowed me across the Charles river, a little to the eastward of where the Somerset lay. It was

land or sea. This was a critical and hazardous enterprise. Christ church, the place selected from which to display the signals, was the most northerly church in Boston and had a very tall steeple, at that time one hundred and ninety-one feet high. Standing on high ground it formed the most conspicuous landmark for vessels entering the harbor, and was well known as the "North church." The British

soldiers patrolled the streets near the church, and not only was there risk of the signal light being observed in that quarter, but, as Pulling said, "he was afraid some old woman would see the light and scream fire."

At half past ten that night Lieutenant-Colonel Smith with eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry embarked in long boats at the foot of Boston common. General Gage that evening told Lord Percy that he intended to send a detachment to seize the stores at Concord, under command of Colonel Smith, who knew he was to go, but not where. The object of the expedition was not yet known, and he begged Lord Percy to keep it a profound secret. As this nobleman was passing from the general's quarters home to his own, he perceived eight or ten men conversing together on the common. Approaching them, one of them said: "The British troops have marched, but will miss their aim." "What aim?" said Lord Percy. "The cannon at Concord," the man replied.

Captain John Pulling, as soon as he was certain the troops were embarking, ran to the house of the sexton of Christ church, in Salem street, and demanded the keys. He being a vestryman, the sexton could not refuse them. He went to the church and, locking himself in, climbed to the upper window of the steeple and hung out the two lanterns, by which the watchers on the Charlestown shore should "know that the British were going by water."

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride, Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride, On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.

"When I got into town," continues

Paul Revere, "I met Colonel Conant and several others, who told me they had seen the signal. I told them what was acting, and went to get me a horse. I got a horse of Deacon Larkin. While the horse was preparing, Richard Devens, one of the committee of safety, came to me and told me that he came down the road from Lexington that evening, after sundown, and that he met ten British officers, all well mounted and armed, going up the road.

"I set off upon a very good horse; it was then about eleven o'clock and very pleasant. After I had passed Charlestown neck and got about opposite where Mark was hung in chains, I saw two men on horseback under a tree, whom I discovered were British officers. One tried to get ahead of me and the other to take me. I turned my horse very quick and galloped toward Charlestown neck, and then pushed for the Medford road. The one who chased me, endeavoring to cut me off, got into a clay pond. I got clear of him and went through Medford over the bridge.

"In Medford I awakened the captain of the minute-men, and after that I alarmed almost every house till I got to Lexington. In Lexington I was joined by a Mr. Dawes and Dr. Prescott. We rode towards Concord alarming the people. After proceeding nearly half way, the Dr. and Mr. Dawes had stopped to alarm the people in a house, and I was about one hundred rods ahead, when I saw two men in nearly the same situation as those officers were near Charlestown. I called for the Doctor and Mr. Dawes to come up, when in an instant I was

surrounded by four. They had placed themselves in a straight road that inclined each way, and had taken down a pair of bars on the north side of the road where two of them were under a tree in the pasture. We tried to get past them, but they, being armed with pistols and swords, forced us into the pasture. The Doctor jumped his horse over a low stone wall and got to Concord. I observed a wood at a small distance and made for that. When I got there, out started six officers on horseback and ordered me to dismount. One of them, who appeared to have the command, examined me, where I came from and what my name was. I told him. He asked me if I was an express. I answered in the affirmative. He demanded what time I left Boston. I told him, and added that their troops had caughted aground in passing the river and that there would be five hundred Americans there in a short time, for I had alarmed the country all the way up.

"He immediately rode toward those who stopped us, when all five of them came down on a full gallop. One of them, whom I afterwards found to be Major Mitchel of the Fifth Regiment, clapped his pistol to my head, called me by name, and told me if I did not give true answers to his questions he would blow my brains out. He asked me questions similar to the others and, after searching me for arms, ordered me to mount and proceed in front of them. After riding a little way, he ordered a sergeant to ride beside me, and told him to blow my brains out if I attempted to run.

"We rode till we got near Lexington meeting-house, when the militia fired a volley of guns, which appeared to alarm them very much. The major inquired of me how far it was to Cambridge and if there were any other road. He then rode up to the sergeant and asked him if his horse was tired. (He was a sergeant of Grenadiers, and had a small horse). He answered him he was. 'Then,' said he, 'take that man's horse.' I dismounted, and the sergeant took my horse, when they left me and all rode towards Lexington meeting-house.

"I went across the burying ground and some pastures and came to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, where I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams. I went with Mr. Lowell, a clerk to Mr. Hancock, to the tavern to get a trunk of papers. On the way we met a man at full gallop, who said the British were coming up the rocks. We went up chamber, and while we were getting the trunk we saw the British very near upon a full march. We hurried towards Mr. Clark's house. On our way we passed through the militia. They were about fifty. When we had got about one hundred yards from the meeting-house the British troops appeared on both sides of it. In their front was an officer on horseback. They made a short halt, when I saw and heard a gun fired which appeared to be a pistol. Then I could distinguish two guns, and then a continual volley of musquetry; when we made off with the trunk." Revere concludes his letter with some charges and information against Church, who proved to be a traitor in the continental congress.

Colonel Paul Revere took part in many military enterprises during the Revolution, and rose from the rank of second lieutenant to that of lieutenant-colonel. In the Penobscot expedition, the most disastrous expedition sent out from Boston during the war, Colonel Revere commanded the artillery. He was an artificer—for the most part self-taught—in many trades. He cast bells, some of which

ducts of his skill as a silversmith and graver. He also produced a large number of engravings and caricatures. There is now a colored engraving of the Boston massacre "Engraved, printed and sold by Paul Revere," in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society; and Revere's agreement for engraving and printing the paper money of the continental congress, dated December



THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

are still hanging in church steeples; and cannon, now widely scattered as the spoils of war. In 1805 a bell was placed in the steeple of the new North church in Boston, weighing one thousand three hundred pounds, and costing eight hundred dollars from the foundry of Paul Revere. There are still in existence many pro-

8, 1778, is still preserved in the Massachusetts archives.

When it was discovered by the British authorities that the signals which aroused the Americans were made from Christ church, "a search was immediately set afoot for the rebel who made them." The sexton, Robert Newman, was suspected and

arrested, but he protested his innocence, and declared that the keys were demanded of him at a late hour that night by Captain Pulling, who, being a vestryman, he thought had a right to them. Meantime Pulling had been warned by friends, that he had better leave town as soon as possible with his family, and this he did, disguised as a laborer, on board a small craft loaded with beer for the men-of-war in the harbor. Mr. Pulling and his family were put ashore at Nantasket, where they lived in want until the siege was raised, only to find their property all destroyed.

An attempt has been made to set up a claim that the sexton Newman hung out the lanterns, but it is altogether improbable, even if there were no evidence, that Paul Revere would have entrusted this hazardous enterprise to a stranger, after swearing on the Bible not to discover the transactions of the committee but to certain trusty men. Another claim has been made that Richard Devens was the "friend" who hung out the lanterns;

but Revere himself says, in his letter, that when he reached Charlestown, Devens came to him and told him of meeting British officers that evening on the Lexington road. As the lanterns had only just been hung out at that time, it is manifestly impossible that Devens was the person who made the signal. It is generally admitted that Captain Pulling was the man.

It has also been claimed that the North meeting-house, and not Christ church, was the place from which the signal was made; but this claim is absurd, as the North meeting-house had no steeple, and a light could not have been seen from it, while Christ church (then known as the "North church") stood on high ground directly across the Charles river from Charlestown and had a very tall spire. A tablet has since been placed in Christ church bearing this inscription: "The signal lanterns of Paul Revere displayed in the steeple of this church April 18, 1775, warned the country of the march of the British troops to Lexington and Concord."

HOWARD ALDEN GIDDINGS.





John Dunstall

ODE FOR THE COLUMBIAN CELEBRATION OF 1792.

I.

Crown'd with auspicious light,
Columbia's Eagle, rise!
Thine emblems bless our sight,
Their honors greet our eyes.

Nations admire thy rising dawn, and shall salute thy day,
While generations yet unborn receive the genial ray.

An empire's born! Let cannon roar,
Bid Echo rend the sky;
Let ev'ry heart adore
High heaven our great ally.

II.

Illustrious era, hail!
Thy stars in union grow,
Opposing mists dispel,
And with fresh splendor glow.

Thy glories burst upon the gloom, where darkness dragg'd her chain;
The sons of cruelty and death shall own thy gentle reign.

Chorus.

III.

Let joyous hearts engage,
Let foul contention cease;

COLUMBIAN ODE.

Exchange for jealous rage
 Th' enrapturing smile of peace.
 No genius human e'er devis'd a Fed'ral plan more pure,
 Wisdom and strength and freedom guard Columbia's rights secure.

Chorus.

IV.

Now, Fame, exert your pow'rs,
 Your silver trumpets raise;
 A Washington is ours;
 Thro' earth resound his praise;
 He once in crimson fields of blood forbade us to be slaves;
 Again, with an illustrious band, once more his country saves.

Chorus.

V.

Discord aghast shall frown,
 Science her temple rear;
 Labor insure her crown,
 And useful arts appear.

Then beat your spears to pruning hooks, break up the generous soil,
 While fruits of plenty round the land reward the reaper's toil.

Chorus.

VI.

Commerce! your sails display,
 While Agriculture sings;
 Where late the bramble lay
 The rose of beauty springs.

Union shall glad revolving years, no partial views remain;
 Justice aloft advance her scale, and public virtue reign.

A nation's born! let cannon roar,
 Bid Echo rend the sky;
 Let ev'ry heart adore
 High heaven our great ally.¹

¹ This interesting poetical relic is copied from the original manuscript in the handwriting of its author, John Pintard (1759-1844), principal founder of the New York Historical Society, and a citizen who was conspicuous in promoting the interests of the community in which he was so prominent, and in which he lived for fourscore and five years. His uncle, Lewis Pintard (1732-1818), was among the great merchants of New York and was one of the incorporators of the Chamber of Commerce. During the Revolutionary war, Mr. Pintard acted as the agent for American prisoners, and administered the scanty funds that Congress was able to supply toward mitigating their sufferings with fidelity and economy, for which he received the thanks of General Washington. The original document is in the possession of Mr. E. P. Servoss, a grandson of John Pintard.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO FOUND AN AMERICAN COLLEGE.

SCATTERED through the records of the Virginia Company, of London, which received its first charter from King James I. in 1606, and was dissolved by order of the same king in 1624, there is a number of references to the founding and endowment of a college at Henrico, one of the settlements on the James river in Virginia; and as the effort there made was perhaps the first attempt to provide an institution of higher learning within the present bounds of the United States, it may be of interest to have these scattered notices gathered together, and the history of that movement reconstructed so far as the fragmentary accounts will allow.

The first official notice of this college comes from the hand of the king himself. In the year 1617 James wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury authorizing him to send letters to the English bishops giving order that "collections be made in the particular parishes four severall tymes within these two years next coming," and that the moneys thus collected should be transmitted half-yearly to the treasurer of the Virginia Company, "to be employed for the Godly purposes intended and no other." According to the treasurer's report, given May 26, 1619, these collections had then amounted to one thousand five hundred pounds or thereabouts.

In the meanwhile (November 18, 1618) the Virginia Company had

given ten thousand acres of ground "for the endowing of said University and Colledge with convenient possessions." This land was partly within the territory of Henrico, where the buildings were to be erected, and partly farther up the river, a little below the present site of Richmond. During the same year the charge of the college was offered to the Rev. Thomas Larkin, who thus expresses himself in one of his letters: "A good friend of mine propounded to me within three or four days a condition of going over to Virginia, where the Virginia Company means to erect a college, and undertakes to procure me good assurance of two hundred pounds a year and better, and if I should find there any ground of dislike, liberty to return at pleasure. I assure you I find preferment coming on so slowly here at home, as makes me much incline to accept it." He determined, however, to "do nothing rashly," and he never came.

The prospects of the college during the next three years (1619-1621) seemed to be constantly growing brighter.

On May 26, 1619, when the treasurer reported the amount of the collections above referred to, it was decided by the company that they should not at once "build a Colledge, but rather forbear a while, and begin first with moneys they have to provide and settle an Annuall revenue, and out of that to begin the

erection of the said Colledge." It being "a waighty busines," a committee of seven choice gentlemen was appointed. One month later (June 24, 1619) their report was given, the substance of which was that fifty "single men, unmarried," were to be sent out and settled on the college land, "to have halfe the benefit of their labors, and the other halfe to goe in getting forward the worke and for mayntenance of the Tutors and Schollers." These "single men, unmarried," were to be "smiths, carpenters, brick-layers, turners, potters, husbandmen, brick-makers." A minister was to be "entertained" at the yearly allowance of forty pounds, and there was also to be a captain to have charge of the people on the college land, for it was situated in the wilderness, almost surrounded by Indian tribes. The ship carrying these men was "to sett out soon after the middest of July at the furthest, that by the blessing of God they may arrive there by the end of October." Toward the end of that year Sir Edwin Sandys, who was thoroughly acquainted with Virginia, proposed that the next spring the number of men on the college land be increased by one hundred, estimating that the hundred men thus added, being rightly employed, would not yield less in value than one thousand pounds yearly revenue.

On June 21, 1619, an unknown person, evidently of high church tendencies, presented to this frontier college, "A Communion Cup with a cover and vase, a Trencher plate for the bread, a Carpett of crimson vellett, and a Linnen Damaske table cloth." The next year (February 20, 1620) an-

other unknown person left the college a legacy of five hundred pounds. On the 15th of November of the same year, "a straunger stopt in presentinge a Mapp of Sir Walter Rawlighes contayninge a Descripcyon of Guiana, and with the same fower great books as the Guift of one unto the Company that desyrd his name might not be made knowne, whereof one booke was a treatise of St. Augustine of the City of God translated into English, and the other three great Volumes wer the works of Mr. Perkins newlie corrected and amended, wch books the Donor desyred they might be sent to the Colledge in Virginia, there to remayne in saftie to the use of the collegiates."

During this same year two large amounts of money came to the college; the first, of five hundred and fifty pounds in gold, "for the bringinge upp of Children of the Infidles, first in ye knowledge of God & true religion & next in fitt trades whereby honestly to live"—evidently given by one who knew where it was necessary to begin in this fine scheme for the higher education; and the other a sum of three hundred pounds "for the Colledge in Virginia to be paid when there shel be tenn of the Infidles Children placed in it." The same year also the Rev. Thomas Bargrave of Virginia died, leaving to the college his library, valued at about seventy pounds.

These various gifts and bequests show that the proposed college was generally known and excited considerable interest at the time. The conversion of the Indians was one of the popular enthusiasms, and no small part of the apparent success of the

plan for a college is due to the sentimental interest taken in the "infidel children of the forest." This was soon, however, to receive a rude shock. In the spring of 1622 the news reached England of the great massacre of March 22d, which fell so suddenly and so terribly on the Virginia plantation, when along with many other settlements the little palisaded village of Henrico, the place chosen as the site of the proposed university, was utterly destroyed.

Nevertheless, the plan for a college was not yet abandoned. The very letter which contained the famous Virginia scheme of Indian extermination for the sake of revenge contained also directions for the ordering and resettling of the college tenants, who, henceforth, were to be left to their own disposing and government, and that they might "reduce the uncertainie of halfe to the certainie of a Rent, we have therefore agreed shal be every pson twenty bushells of corne; 60 waight of good leafe tobacco, and one pound of silke to be yearly paid together with six dayes labors;" and, furthermore, "as for the Brick-makers we desire they may be held to their contract made with Mr. Thorpe, to the intent that when opportunitie shal be for the erecting of the fabricke of the Colledge the materialls be not wanting."

But the end was drawing near. The next year (1623) the company fell still more into disfavor with the

king, and on June 16, 1624, their charter was declared to be null and void. The last notice relating to the college is under date of June 18, 1623: "Edward Downes peticoned that his son Richard Downes havinge continued in Virginia these 4 yeares and being bred a schollar went over in hope of preferment in the Colledge there; might now be free to livet here of himselfe and have fifty acres of land to plant upon. The Court conceaving his suite to be verie reasonable have recommended the graunt thereof to the next Quarter Court."

Nothing more is known of this first attempt to found a college on American soil. By the wreck of the Virginia Company, which acted as its trustee, it lost possession of its extensive lands, and the thousands of pounds which had been so freely bestowed upon it by way of endowment; nor is there any trace of what became of the communion set with its "carpett of crimson velvet," nor the curious "Mapp of Guianes," nor the "three great Volumes" of Mr. Perkins, and the library of the Rev. Thomas Bargrave.

Yet had it had not been for the wrath of King James, who hated the policy pursued by the Virginia Company, this college might to-day be the most venerable of American universities, thirteen years older than Harvard; founded, indeed, before the Mayflower had yet set sail for her voyage to Plymouth Bay.

WM. ARMITAGE BEARDSLEE.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

GEORGE III.'S PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE REBELS OF AMERICA.¹

ABOUT the time that this proclamation was sent forth, King George III. had received much provocation to such an act. The, to him, entirely reasonable and proper measure for raising revenue for paying off the debt of a war waged to deliver the colonies from the ravages of French and Indians, had been met with the most determined, universal, and persistent opposition. The stamp act had to be repealed, so invulnerable was this sentiment of the colonists. A very practical and "home-reaching" feature of this stubborn antagonism to the parliamentary device had been the non-importation agreements. No doubt the king had looked on in amazement and anger when the colonial merchants dared thus to conspire to interfere with the conduct of trade, and to presume to forbid those of the mother country to send their wares to America. But whether it was daring or presumption, or not, the effectiveness of that stand was undoubted; and a little more firmness or a more general fidelity to the policy all along the line of the colonial seaports might have secured many concessions afterward to be secured only by bloodshed.

When the stamp-act agitation had blown over and the non-importation

agreements were no more, there came the trouble with tea. It seemed a small matter for the Americans to exercise their audacity about; but that audacity was manifested, became in the course of events painfully patent to king and cabinet and people. When the king said that the colonies should receive the tea-ships, the last word in the matter had not yet been heard. The tea-ships had yet to make their appearance in Boston, New York, Charleston harbors; they did, but the tea did not get a landing in either of those ports. Some frolic, some violence, some rough-shod riding over the feelings of sea-captains and naval and customs officers there were; but the design and the will of British authorities were frustrated and the march toward rebellion went bravely on.

Non-importation agreements, tea-parties, brawls on Boston's Common or New York's Golden Hill, finally resolved themselves into action more dignified and regular, and in the summer of 1774 the first continental congress met. It was just twenty years since the Albany conference of 1754. Then had Benjamin Franklin labored to effect a plan of union for all the colonies, and it had been ma-

¹ One of the original broadsides upon which the above proclamation was printed is preserved in the Boston Public Library, and a fac-simile of it was pub-

lished in its bulletin for October, 1892. By the courtesy of the librarian, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, a copy of this fac-simile appears on another page.



By the KING,

A PROCLAMATION,

For suppressing Rebellion and Sedition.

GEORGE R.



WHEREAS many of Our Subjects in divers Parts of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, misled by dangerous and ill-designing Men, and forgetting the Allegiance which they owe to the Power that has protected and sustained them, after various disorderly Acts committed in Disturbance of the Publick Peace, to the Obstruction of lawful Commerce, and to the Oppression of Our loyal Subjects carrying on the same, have at length proceeded to an open and avowed Rebellion, by arraying themselves in hostile Manner to withstand the Execution of the Law, and traitorously preparing, ordering, and levying War against Us; And whereas there is Reason to apprehend that such Rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous Correspondence, Counsels, and Comfort of divers wicked and desperate Persons within this Realm: To the End therefore that none of Our Subjects may neglect or violate their Duty through Ignorance thereof, or through any Doubt of the Protection which the Law will afford to their Loyalty and Zeal; We have thought fit, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring that not only all Our Officers Civil and Military are obliged to exert their utmost Endeavours to suppress such Rebellion, and to bring the Traitors to Justice; but that all Our Subjects of this Realm and the Dominions thereunto belonging are bound by Law to be aiding and assisting, in the Suppression of such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all traitorous Conspiracies and Attempts against Us, Our Crown and Dignity; And We do accordingly strictly charge and command all Our Officers as well Civil as Military, and all other Our obedient and loyal Subjects, to use their utmost Endeavours to withstand and suppress such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all Treasons and traitorous Conspiracies which they shall know to be against Us, Our Crown and Dignity; and for that Purpose, that they transmit to One of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or other proper Officer, due and full Information of all Persons who shall be found carrying on Correspondence with, or in any Manner or Degree aiding or abetting the Persons now in open Arms and Rebellion against Our Government within any of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, in order to bring to condign Punishment the Authors, Perpetrators, and Abettors of such traitorous Designs.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the Twenty-third Day of *August*, One thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

God save the King.

L O N D O N .

Printed by *Charles Eyre and William Strahan*, Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty. 1775.

tured and adopted by the delegates; but when it was submitted to the authorities in England and to their colonial constituent, it met with a double-edged opposition which proved its death blow. The king and his ministers thought the plan gave too much liberty to the colonies, and the colonies feared that it placed too much power in the hands of the king. The fact of union, on whatever plan, had now shown itself so indispensible to the colonies, that delegates were elected to the congress of 1774 to deliberate on the common defence, and to concoct a scheme for a common government. There was as yet no renouncing of royal authority, but the royal will or wish was of exceeding little account in any measures the congress might adopt. And hence it was with no friendly eye that George III. contemplated the congress. Its meeting was a distinct element in the accumulating provocation.

But defiance went further. Besides the general congress there were provincial congresses, meeting in the place of royal councils and provincial assemblies of the old regime. In November, 1774, Earl Percy, afterward to win some note on the disastrous day of Lexington, wrote home to his friends in England, from Boston: "The Provincial Congress I find met again yesterday, and I am informed they mean to proceed to the choice of a new Gov^r. They have already raised an Army, seized the Publick Money, and have taken on themselves all the Powers of Government." Surely the march toward rebellion was proceeding at a quickstep pace. To a man of the temperament of George III. it was all surpassingly

exasperating; it was getting to be more than he could bear.

The next step could only be the breaking out of actual hostilities, the arraying of force against force, the clash of arms, and the spilling of blood of embattled hosts. And that too came. The soldiers of George III. and the colonial militia, or rather the patriot trainbands, looked into each other's faces at Lexington for the first time; and the snapping of the British major's pistol, on their refusal to lay down their arms at his behest, began the armed contest and was the first alarum of war. At Concord there was a return of volleys, and then all the way from Concord, back through Lexington to Boston, war raged fiercely and disastrously on that first day of revolutionary war. To George III. it was the outbreak of armed rebellion after the rebellion of the years that went before, which had found expression only in mutinous speech, or sudden brawls, or legislative deliberations.

But he was yet to learn of Bunker Hill, and the assumption of all the forms and rights of a national being independent of the mother country. The challenge of war was boldly accepted, and an American commander-in-chief appeared opposite Boston, and cooped up the royal troops within it by regular leagues. And all this had time to travel across the ocean, and to stir up the mind of the would-be despot to deepest wrath before August 23. Then he poured forth his troubled soul, exasperated beyond all bounds against his rebellious subjects, in the proclamation, which was printed as a broadside, and scattered throughout the colonies.

We must observe the philosophical exhortation "to put ourselves in his place"—which is at the same time the scientifically historic attitude—to appreciate the terms of this proclamation. From the king's standpoint England was "the Power that has [had] protected and sustained" the colonies. Surely they could have got along without much of that protection; and the sustaining did not reach their commercial or manufacturing development to any great extent. Their real prosperity, their rights as political integers, were serenely ignored or even trampled upon, to advance or protect the commerce and

manufactures of the mother country. This had been the deliberate policy of a century and over, and allegiance based on a gratitude for protection, and sustaining which had itself such slender ground to stand upon, could not be expected to be very firm. But [again from the king's standpoint] when this protection was repaid by their "arraying themselves in hostile Manner to withstand the Execution of the Law, and traitorously preparing, ordering, and levying War," no wonder that it seemed high time to pronounce summary sentence and denunciation in the form of this proclamation.





History in Brief

After the Surrender of Burgoyne.

becoming self-restraint at the surrender of Burgoyne's army. They were happy and proud, but did not insult their fallen foe by any offensive exhibition of undue exultation. But as so often happens in such cases, when the political authorities interfered their behavior was not so commendable. In the first place, quite outside the provisions of the convention between Gates and Burgoyne, Congress demanded that the latter should draw up a minutely descriptive list of all his officers and soldiers, so that if any of them should afterward be found fighting against the United States, they might be charged with that breach of faith. It was a severe reflection on soldiers' honor. Burgoyne complied with the demand, but protested that this itself was a breach of faith. So little did the politicians appreciate the temper of a soldier, however, that Congress made this natural outburst the pretext for a still greater wrong on their part. They insisted that the convention of Saratoga must be distinctly ratified by the court of Great Britain

Abundant testimony exists that the American army, from the highest officer to the meanest private, bore themselves with

before they would allow its provisions to be carried out. As this could not be done without recognizing the independence of the United States, and thus at once giving up the conflict, Great Britain could not be expected to comply, nor can it be that Congress itself could have expected that she would.

"The captured army was never sent home," continues Professor John Fiske, who characterizes this dishonorable conduct of our Congress with deserved severity. "The officers were treated as prisoners of war, and from time to time were exchanged. Burgoyne was allowed to go to England in the spring [of 1778], and while still a prisoner on parole he took his seat in Parliament, and became conspicuous among the defenders of the American cause. The troops were detained in the neighborhood of Boston until the autumn of 1778, when they were all transferred to Charlottesville, Virginia. Here a rude village was built on the brow of a pleasant ridge of hills, and gardens were laid out and planted. Much kind assistance was rendered in all this work by Thomas Jefferson, who was then living close by, on his estate at Monticello, and did everything in his power to make things comfortable for soldiers and officers.

Two years afterward, when Virginia became the seat of war, some of them were removed to Winchester, in the Shenandoah valley; to Frederick, in Maryland, and to Lancaster in Pennsylvania. Those who wished to return to Europe were exchanged or allowed to escape. The greater number, especially of the Germans, preferred to stay in this country and become American citizens. Before the end of 1783 they had dispersed in all directions."

In the Boston Public Library are preserved the original paroles of honor of the officers of the British and Hessian forces after the surrender at Saratoga, in October, 1777, and headed by Generals Burgoyne and Riedesel. It will be remembered that the surrendered forces were cantoned at Cambridge, where the paroles were dated December 13, 1777. This remarkable document was presented by the late John Win-gate Thornton to the Boston Sanitary Fair, in 1864, on condition that it should be sold for not less than \$1,000, and that the purchaser should give it to the public library. It was presented to Mr. Thornton by a grandson of Major-General Heath. The canton included parts of Cambridge, Watertown, Medford, and Charlestown, until the surrendered forces were removed to Charlottesville, Virginia, by order of Congress. The British parole is signed by one hundred and eighty-five officers, and is in three columns, nearly four feet long and two and three-quarters feet wide; the Hessian parole is signed by ninety-five officers, is two and three-quarters feet long, and a trifle over a foot in width.

A Columbus
Celebration
In 1792.

The following extract from the *Mail, or Claypole's Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, Wednesday, August 22, 1792, was sent by Mr. Edward F. DeLancy, corresponding secretary of the New York Historical Society, to Mr. Henry F. Thompson, Baltimore, and was read by him before the Maryland Historical Society. It has reference to a Columbus celebration in 1792:

A LETTER RECEIVED FROM BALTIMORE, DATED AUGUST 17, 1792.

We are informed by a correspondent, that on Friday, the third day of this month, being the anniversary of the departure of Christopher Columbus from Spain, for the voyage in which he discovered this new World, and that day closing the third century and secular year of the event that led to that great discovery, the corner stone of an obelisk, to honour the memory of the immortal man, was laid in a grove in one of the gardens of a villa "Belmont," the country seat of the Chevalier d'Amour, near this town. He adds that suitable inscriptions, on metal tables, are to be affixed to its pedestal, on the twelfth of next October, the anniversary of the day on which he, for the first time, saw the land he so eagerly was in quest of; the same day closing also the third century and secular year of that important epocha of the annals of this Globe. He remarks that in none of the countries that have so much benefitted by the discovery of this almost half of the earth, no monuments of public or private veneration have been raised to his memory by deserved gratitude: and that great man, towards whom his contemporaries were unjust, even to cruelty, has not yet obtained from time and posterity, the reward they never fail to grant to real virtue and useful merit.

Our correspondent, however, congratulates this Country on having, for some years past, taken the first step to restore him part of the honours due to his name. There are in the United States, districts of Columbia, counties

of Columbia, towns of Columbia, colleges of Columbia, &c., &c., &c. Some future State, he hopes, will also be called by that name; and he observes that it is often employed by the Columbian favourites of the muses, in their poetical performances. This leads him to believe, or at least to hope, that the time is approaching when universal justice will be done to the man, whose courage, fortitude and talents place him among the first heroes of modern times; and to whom, in ancient Rome, and still more in ancient Greece, public respect and gratitude would have dedicated statues, temples, altars, and public solemnities.

He also observes that the nominal day of the week on which Columbus sailed from Spain, and the same also which crowned his enterprise by the discovery of the land, terminates the secular year of the third century of these two events; and that it is the same nominal day (viz. Friday) which the superstition of many modern navigators makes them believe ominous; and prevents them from sailing on that day, often to the prejudice of their owners, or other parties concerned.

(Charles Francis Adrian Le Paulmier d'Annour, Chevalier, &c., was appointed Consul of H. M. C. Majesty at Baltimore, October 27, 1778, and Consul General, September 13, 1783.)

* * *
Traditions Long Island, New
 of York, was free from
Major the horrors of war
Andre during the Revolution, yet nowhere in
 the colonies were the daily lives of
 residents more influenced by British
 control. The island was in the hands
 of the enemy most of the Revolutionary
 period, and in various places
 English soldiers were stationed. It
 was their duty to command obedience
 to the laws of King George, but it
 was often their pleasure to make
 concessions while enforcing the same.
 Many times this course was taken in

appreciation of personal attentions
 which were received from American
 people in whose homes they were intruders. Thus, when a detachment
 of the British army was in East
 Hampton, Sir Henry Clinton, Sir
 William Erskine, Adjutant-General
 André, and Lord Percy enjoyed social
 intercourse with such patriotic characters
 as Priest Buell, the Gardiners,
 the Wyckhams, and other resident
 families. Differences of political sentiments
 were not allowed to interfere with an interchange of courtesies,
 thus alleviating many annoyances
 that were beyond the power of either
 party to avert.

An incident connected with André's sojourn in this village during September, 1780, but three weeks before his tragic death, accords with all that is pathetic in the career of this accomplished young officer. One evening, while in the midst of a convivial gathering of rebels and loyalists at the house of Col. Abraham Gardiner, where André was quartered, the company was annoyed by hearing various mysterious sounds. The house stood where is now the residence of J. T. Gardiner, which was built by President Tyler, who spent his summers in the quaint town with his beautiful wife, who had been Miss Julia Gardiner, of Gardiner's Island. Comments were made and a shade of gloom was cast over the guests. Perhaps the "dark day," which occurred in the month of May previous, made even strong-minded folks apprehensive of things gruesome or weird. Be this as it may, unaccountable noises disturbed the nerves of sensitive people sometimes, at that time as at the present. It was

observed that Major André in particular was thus affected. He withdrew from the room to one which was vacant, and sat for a long time wrapt in silence and reflection. He was urged to return, and rallied as to his dejected countenance, but finding that he could not be diverted, his friends made many solicitous inquiries. The burden of his replies was: "These sounds are meant for me. I am fated. I shall always be unfortunate."

The scheme of betraying West Point into the hands of the English had at this time been devised by Benedict Arnold. Sir Henry Clinton was in secret communication with his aide regarding its accomplishment, and doubtless Adjutant André at this time was seriously meditating the dangerous undertaking, for a few days after he went to New York, and received orders from General Clinton to proceed with the business. Between this date and October 2, 1780, the overzealous André had caused the failure of the plot, and disgrace, arrest, trial, sentence, and execution quickly ended this drama of real life.

It may be conjectured that those satirical verses on American officers called "The Cow Chase," of which André was the author, were written while in East Hampton. The last canto was published on the day of his capture. No doubt some idle moments in that quiet and pastoral spot were thus enlivened, and we may well wish that this unfortunate young man had never attempted a more harmful project than the sobriquet "Mad Anthony" for General Wayne, which had its origin in these verses.

Another tradition blends aptly with the former. Dr. Nathaniel Gardiner,

son of Colonel Abraham Gardiner, was a young surgeon in the American army. He was at home visiting his family, and being in the house with British officers made him liable to arrest as a spy, and, besides, East Hampton was within the British lines. His parents tried to keep from the enemy the knowledge of their son's presence, but soon it was apparent that André had discovered the secret, who remained, however, magnanimously indifferent to household affairs. After the departure of young Gardiner, André expressed the wish that circumstances might have been so as to have favored an acquaintance. Under the saddest surroundings was this fulfilled. Dr. Gardiner was one of the guard the night before his execution, and with no great stretch of imagination we may suppose these two young men to have conversed. On this same evening André made a pen-and-ink sketch of himself which he gave to an American acquaintance. It is not improbable that his companion was permitted to look at the lovely features of Honore Syned, which from memory he had painted in minature, which had been successfully hidden when he was searched by his captors. A niece of Dr. Gardiner vividly remembers hearing these stories in her youth. Such traditions are fascinating. They should be hoarded and treasured in memory, and be as cautiously preserved for inspection as rare laces, old china, and old Bibles. Few localities are more fraught with such charms than the "Hamptons" of Long Island, nor are there many colonial families richer in such lore than those of the name of Gardiner.

Dutch
Medals
of the
American
Revolution.

Some interesting Dutch medals commemorating the revolution are preserved in the Royal Museum at The Hague Holland. By reason of their interest to the citizens of the United States, our Minister Plenipotentiary there, Samuel R. Thayer, Esq., requested and was courteously granted permission to have copies of each medal struck off in zinc. These he sent to the Department of State at Washington, D. C., accompanied with a despatch to Secretary Blaine, giving an historical and descriptive account of each medal, and asking the privilege of presenting one set to the department, and one to each of several historical societies of the country. The description of them, as cited from the despatch to the State Department, is as follows:

I. "The first medal in the series referred to was designed to commemorate the recognition of American Independence by the Province of Friesland on the 26th of February, 1782, a description of which is as follows: On the obverse side is a male figure personating a Frisian in ancient costume, joining right hands with an American, represented by a maiden in aboriginal dress, standing on a sceptre with her left hand resting on a shield bearing the inscription [in Dutch]: 'The United States of North America'; while with his left hand the Frisian signals his rejection of an olive branch offered by a Briton, represented by a maiden accompanied by a tiger, the left hand of the maiden resting on a shield having the inscrip-

tion: 'Great Britain.' On the reverse side is the figure of an arm projecting from the clouds holding the coat of arms of the province of Friesland, under which is the inscription [in Dutch]: 'To the States of Friesland in grateful recognition of the Acts of the Assembly, in February and April, 1782, by the Citizens' Club of Leeuwarden. *Liberty and Zeal.*' II. "The second medal in the series was struck off by order of the States General in commemoration of its recognition of the Independence of the United States. On the obverse side of the medal will be found the United States and the Netherlands, represented by two maidens equipped for war, with right hands joined over a burning altar. The Dutch maiden is placing an emblem of freedom on the head of the American, whose right foot, attached to a broken chain, rests on England, represented by a tiger. In the field of the medal are the words: 'Libera Soror. Solemni Decr. Agn. 19 Apr. MDCCCLXXXII.' On the reverse side is the figure of a unicorn lying prostrate before a steep rock against which he has broken his horn; over the figure are the words: 'Tyrannis virtute repulsa,' and underneath the same the words: 'Sub Galliae auspiciis.' III. "The third medal in the series was made to commemorate the treaty of commerce and navigation entered into between the United States and the Netherlands the 7th of October, 1782. On its obverse side stands in relief a monumental needle bearing the Amsterdam coat of arms, upon which a wreath is being placed by a figure representing Mercury; underneath the coat of arms is a parchment bearing the inscription: 'Pro. Dro. Mvs.'

France, symbolized by a crowing cock, which stands beside the needle pointing with a conjurer's wand to a horn of plenty and an anchor. Over all are the words: 'Justitiam et non temnere divos.' On the reverse side is an image of Fame riding on a cloud and carrying the arms of the Netherlands and the United States, surmounted by a naval crown; the figures are covered by the following words: 'Faustissimo feedere junctae Die VII. Octob MDCCLXXXII.'

* * *

First Suggestion of Lincoln's Name for President. There has been a great deal of good-natured banter about Ohio, within recent years, as to men from that State expecting to claim every honor or office within sight, after having furnished two successive Presidents of the United States. A voice from that direction has lately made itself heard, to the effect that it was an Ohio man who was the discoverer of Abraham Lincoln. In Mount Vernon, Ohio, there died not long ago Mr. Israel Green. He had built up a comfortable drug business at Findlay, Ohio, in the early fifties of this century, but was a keen observer of political events, as well as a capable judge of their drift and significance. He was not a politician himself, and not an office holder except to the extent of being a member of the State Legislature for one term. He was a man of independent mind, accustomed to think for himself, not taking his opinions at second-hand. With this bent of mind of the vigorous thinker, he had given himself over heart and soul to the anti-slavery

cause. Consequently he had watched with eager zest the famous debates between Lincoln and Douglas. He had come to the conclusion from the study of these debates that Abraham Lincoln was a man not only of alertness and ability in controversy, but possessed of the more solid qualities of the statesman, and endued with the unflinching moral courage of the reformer. Mr. Green therefore became strongly convinced that Lincoln was the man to lead the hosts of anti-slavery to victory in the approaching presidential campaign. Accordingly, on November 6th, 1858, he wrote to the Cincinnati "Gazette," suggesting the name of Abraham Lincoln as presidential candidate. The letter was published in that journal, and appeared in its columns as follows:

A TICKET FOR 1860.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati *Gazette*.

FINDLAY, Ohio, Nov. 6, 1858.—Permit a daily reader of your valuable paper, residing in the Northwest, to suggest to the consideration of the triumphant and united opposition, the names of the following distinguished and patriotic statesmen as standard bearers in the approaching Presidential election:

For President,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
of Illinois.
Vice President,
JOHN P. KENNEDY
of Maryland.

There, sir, is a ticket that can command and receive the united support of the entire opposition. With the above ticket in the field, with a banner on which shall be inscribed union and harmony; protection to American capital and American labor, skill and enterprise; improvements of Western rivers and harbors; free labor and unrelenting opposition to the interference of the general government in favor of the spread of

slavery; opposition to any further acquisition of foreign territory; to humbug squatter sovereignty; to the principles involved in the Dred Scott decision. Let us oppose the appointment to offices of profit of members of either branch of Congress during the term for which they shall be elected; oppose extravagance and favoritism in the public expenses, and favor a return to the early principles and practices of the founders of our government. Let us preserve the elective franchise pure and untarnished.

With such standard bearers and such a platform the great opposition or American

Republican party can go before the people of the nation in 1860 with the full assurance of a triumphant victory over the present pro-slavery filibustering, border ruffian Democracy.

(Signed)

A MEMBER OF THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION
IN 1856.

This is believed to have been the first public suggestion of President Lincoln's name, and for this Mr. Green deserves to be remembered with gratitude.



AMERICAN INVENTORS.

ELISHA GRAY.

TWO things serve just at this time to bring even more prominently before the public than heretofore, one of the most noted of American inventors. One of these circumstances is the coming meeting of the "World's Congress of Electricians" in Chicago, and the other is the putting into practical operation of that wonderful adjunct to telegraphy, the "Telautograph," the latest invention of Elisha Gray.

The World's Congress of Electricians will assemble in the new Art Institute in Chicago on the 21st of August next, and will bring together the most noted electricians of all parts of the world. The Congress will be divided into two sections, one of which—termed the official section—will be composed of representatives, designated by the various governments of Europe and the Americas, and will be authorized to consider and pass upon questions relating to electrical measurements, nomenclature and various other matters of import to the electrical world. To the other section of the Congress will be admitted all professional electricians who come properly accredited, who will be permitted to attend the sessions and participate in the deliberations of the Congress, but will not be allowed to vote upon the technical questions coming before it.

A couple of years since, when it was determined that the convening

of International Congresses of various kinds should be made one of the leading incidental features of the Columbian Exposition, a body which became known as the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition was organized for the purpose of promoting and making all necessary preparations for these gatherings. To Prof. Elisha Gray of Chicago, this body assigned the task of organizing the Congress of Electricians and upon this renowned inventive genius has devolved the responsibility of formulating the plans and making all initiatory preparations for what will unquestionably be the most interesting and important convention of electricians ever held in this or in any other country. While Professor Gray has called to his assistance many distinguished members of his profession, by virtue of his official position he has been the central and most attractive figure in this great movement, and a sketch of his career has at this time a peculiar interest.

"Some men achieve greatness, some men are born great and some men are born in Ohio" is a saying attributed to Chauncey Depew in one of his clever after dinner speeches, and Elisha Gray belongs to the first and last mentioned classes. He was born near Barnesville, Belmont County, Ohio, August 2, 1835. His father, David Gray, a native of Pennsylvania, was of Scotch-Irish ancestry, and

his mother a native of North Carolina—who before her marriage was Christiana Edgerton—was of English descent. His parents were Quakers, lived on a farm, and were, in what is termed, in rural communities, in moderate circumstances. When Elisha Gray was twelve years old, he had three or four terms of district schooling and the industrial training usually given to farm boys of his age and condition in life forty years ago, his father died, leaving him in large measure dependent upon his own resources for a living. At fourteen years of age he apprenticed himself to a blacksmith and partially mastered the trade, but was compelled to abandon it on account of his strength being overtaxed by the kind of labor he had to perform. Joining his mother, who had removed to Brownsville, Pennsylvania, he entered the employ of a boat builder of that place and served a three and a half years apprenticeship in learning the trade of ship joiner. At the end of that time he had developed into a first class mechanic and had given some evidence of inventive genius, but so meagre was the education which he had been able to obtain that he could do little more than experiment with simple contrivances, the construction of which did not require any scientific knowledge. The testimony of one who knew him intimately during this period of his life is, however, to the effect that he had a consciousness of his own resources, believed that nature had designed him to accomplish some important work in life, and that he thirsted for the knowledge which should open for him the way to in-

telligent research, investigation and effort.

While working as an apprentice, he formed the acquaintance of Prof. H. S. Bennett—now of Fisk University—then a student at Oberlin College, from whom he learned that at that institution exceptional opportunities were afforded to students for self-education, and immediately after he had completed his term of service he set out for the western college town, with barely enough money in his possession to carry him to his destination. He arrived in Oberlin in the summer of 1857 and at once went to work as a carpenter, supporting himself by this means during a five years' course of study in the college. As a student, he gave special attention to the physical sciences in which he was exceptionally proficient, his ingenuity being strikingly manifested from time to time in the construction of the apparatus used in class room experimentation, his cleverness in constructing these various appliances making him a conspicuous character among the students. While pursuing his college course he was not fully decided as to what profession he would take up, and at one time is said to have been slightly inclined to enter the ministry, but decided not to do so when his future mother-in-law jokingly remarked one day that it would be "a pity to spoil a good mechanic to make a poor minister." To this sage remark of a sensible woman the now famous inventor has sometimes declared himself to be, in a great measure, indebted for what he has since accomplished.

From 1857 to 1861 he devoted himself to unremitting toil and study and

the result was that a naturally delicate constitution was unable to withstand the strain put upon it. In 1861, just when the future was beginning to open before him with a good deal of promise he was stricken with an illness from which he did not fully recover for five years. In 1862 he married Miss Delia M. Sheppard of Oberlin, and with a view to the betterment of his health, he devoted himself for a time to farming as an occupation. This experience was disappointing in both its financial results and its effect upon his health and he returned to his trade, working in Trumbull County, Ohio, until he was again prostrated by a serious illness. Following this came two or three years of struggle and privation, of alternate hope and disappointment, during which he experimented with various mechanical and electrical devices, but was prevented by his straightened circumstances from making any headway in profitable invention. Pressed by his necessities, he was once or twice on the point of giving up his researches and investigations entirely and devoting himself to some ordinary bread winning occupation, but he was stimulated to a continuance of his efforts in the field of invention by his faithful and devoted wife and her mother, both of whom had an abiding faith in his genius and aided him in his work with all the means at their command.

In 1867 a more prosperous era dawned upon him, with the invention of a self-adjusting telegraph relay, which although it proved of no practical value, served the purpose of introducing him to the late Gen. Anson

Stager, of Cleveland, Ohio, then General Superintendent of the Western Union Telegraph Company, who at once became interested in him and furnished him facilities for experimenting on the Western Union lines. Forming a partnership with E. M. Barton in Cleveland, he engaged in the manufacture of electrical appliances, and while there invented the Dial Telegraph. In 1869 he removed to Chicago, where he continued the manufacture of electrical supplies, General Stager becoming associated with him. Here he perfected the Type-printing Telegraph, the Telegraphic Repeater, Telegraphic Switch, the Annunciator, and many other inventions which have become famous within the space of a few years. About 1872 he organized the Western Electric Manufacturing Company, which is still in existence and is said to be the largest establishment of its kind in the world.

In 1874 he retired from the superintendency of the Electric Company to begin his researches in telephony, and within two years thereafter gave to the world that marvelous product of human genius, the speaking telephone. Noting one day when a secondary coil was connected with the zinc lining of a bath tub—dry at the time—that when he held the other end of the coil in his left hand and rubbed the lining of the tub with his right, it gave rise to a sound that had the same pitch and quality as that of the vibrating contact breaker, he began a series of experiments which led first to the discovery that musical tones could be transmitted over an electric wire. Fitting up the necessary devices, he exhibited this invention to

some of his friends and the same year went abroad, where he made a special study of acoustics and gave further exhibitions of the invention, which he developed into the harmonic or multiplex telegraph. While perfecting this device in 1875, the idea of the speaking telephone suggested itself, and in 1876 he perfected this invention and filed his caveat in the patent office at Washington. That another inventor succeeded by sharp practice in incorporating into his own application for a telegraph patent, an important feature of Professor Gray's invention, and that he was thereby deprived of the benefits which he should have derived therefrom, is the practically unanimous opinion of those well informed as to the merits of the controversy to which conflicting claims gave rise, and the leading scientists and scientific organizations of the world have accredited to him the honor of inventing the telephone. In recognition of his distinguished achievements, he was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor at the close of the Paris Exposition of 1878 and American colleges have conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws and Doctor of Science.

For several years after his invention of the telephone he was connected with the Postal Telegraph Company and brought the lines of this system into Chicago, laying them underground. He also devised a general underground telegraph system for the city and then turned his attention to the invention of the "Telautograph," a device with which the general public is just now being made familiar, through the published accounts of its practical operation.

On the 21st day of March last the first exhibitions of the practical operation of this wonderful instrument were given simultaneously in New York and Chicago, and on the same day the first telautograph messages were passed over the wires between the towns of Highland Park and Waukegan, Illinois. The exhibitions were witnessed by a large number of electrical experts, scientists and representatives of the press, who were unanimous in the opinion that Professor Gray's invention is destined to bring about a revolution in telegraphy.

One of the beauties of electrical science is the expressiveness of its nomenclature, and among the many significant names given to electrical inventions none expresses more clearly the use and purpose of the invention to which it is applied than the term "telautograph." As its name signified the instrument is one which enables a person sitting at one end of a wire to write a message or a letter which is reproduced simultaneously in fac-simile at the other end of the wire. It is an instrument which takes the place of the skilled operator and the telegraphic alphabet. Any one who can write can transmit a message by this means, and the receiving instrument does its work perfectly without the aid of an operator. The sender of a message may be identified by the fac-simile of his handwriting which reaches the recipient and pen and ink portraits of persons may be as readily transmitted from one point to another as the written messages. In many respects the telautograph promises to be more satisfactory in its practical operations than the tel-

ephone. Communications can be carried on between persons at a distance from each other with absolute secrecy and a message sent to a person in his absence from his place of business will be found awaiting him at his return. These and many other advantages which the telautograph seems to possess warrant the prediction that in the not very distant future telautography will supplant in a measure both telephony and telegraphy.

The transmitter and the receiver of the telautograph system are delicately constructed pieces of mechanism, each contained in a box somewhat smaller than a typewriter machine. The two machines are necessary at each end of a wire and stand side by side. In transmitting a message an ordinary feed lead pencil is used at the point of which is a small collar with two eyes in its rim. To each of these eyes a fine silk cord is attached, running off in two directions at right angles. Each of the two ends of this cord is carried around a small drum supported on a vertical shaft. Under the drum and attached to the same shaft is a toothed wheel of steel the teeth of which are so arranged that when either section of the cord winds upon or off of its drum a number of teeth will pass a given point corresponding to the length of cord so wound or unwound. For instance, if the point of the pencil moves in the direction of one of the cords a distance of one inch, forty of the teeth will pass any certain point. Each one

of these teeth and each space represents one impulse sent upon the line, so that when the pencil describes a motion one inch in length eighty electrical impulses are sent on to the line.

The receiving instrument is practically a duplicate of the transmitter, the motions of which however are controlled by electrical mechanism.

The perfected device exhibited by Professor Gray and now in practical operation, is the result of six years of arduous labor, an evolution to which the crude contrivance used in his earliest experiments bears little resemblance. The manufacture of the instruments will be carried on by the Gray Electric Company, a corporation having offices in New York and Chicago and a large manufacturing establishment just outside the limits of the suburban village of Highland Park of which place Professor Gray has been for many years a resident. Here in addition to his workshop and laboratory the renowned inventor has a beautiful home, and his domestic relations are of the ideal kind.

The title by which Professor Gray has been known for many years came to him through his connection with Oberlin and Ripon (Wis.) Colleges as non-resident lecturer in physics, and his general appearance is that of the college professor or profound student. He has none of the eccentricities which are conspicuous characteristics of some of the great inventors of the age, and when not absorbed in his professional work is delightfully genial and companionable.

EDWIN REYNOLDS.

DIVIDING American inventors into two classes, one class may be said to be the product of the schools and the other the product of the workshop. Both have contributed vastly to the development and progress of the age, but in the production of inventions of practical utility, the representatives of the shops have far surpassed the representatives of the schools.

Edwin Reynolds, whose business interests center in the city of Milwaukee, but whose reputation is national, belongs to the class of inventors educated in the workshop. A practical mechanic whose skill, ingenuity and capabilities have brought to him continually increasing responsibilities, it has been his habit to meet and master emergencies as they presented themselves; and the result has been the evolution of machinery, which has brought about a revolution in some departments of engineering practice.

For instance, some years since the Edward P. Allis Company, of which Mr. Reynolds is the mechanical head and general superintendent, was brought into active and somewhat bitter competition with another great establishment of similar character, in supplying the city of Milwaukee with pumping engines for water-works purposes.

To meet this competition, Mr. Reynolds suggested to the city authorities that the cost of a new pumping engine should be estimated on a commercial basis in awarding the

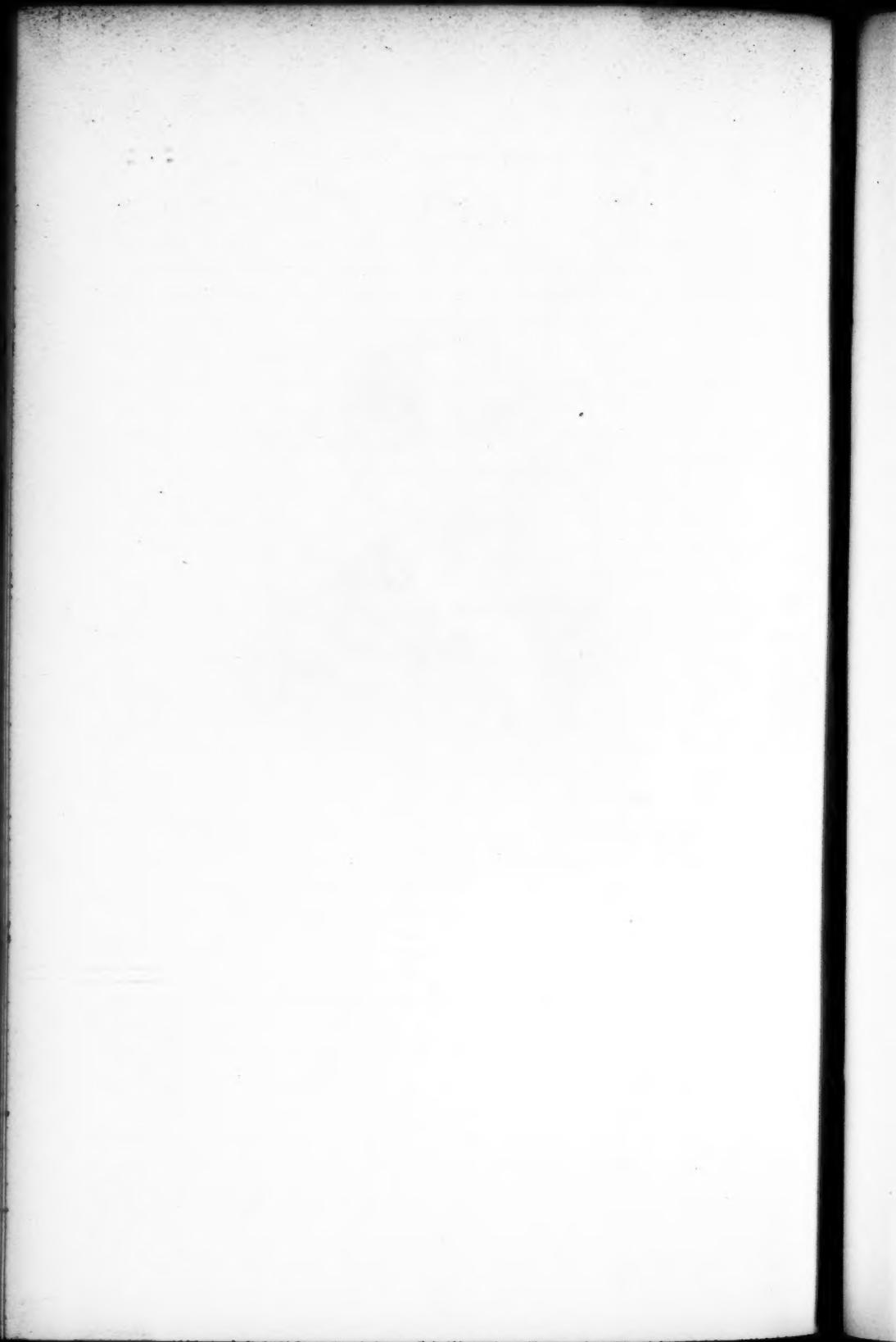
contract for its construction; that is to say, he proposed that to the first cost of a machine which should be guaranteed to do a certain work, should be added the fuel cost of ten years' operation, and the contract should be awarded to the manufacturer whose machine should thus be demonstrated to be the cheapest.

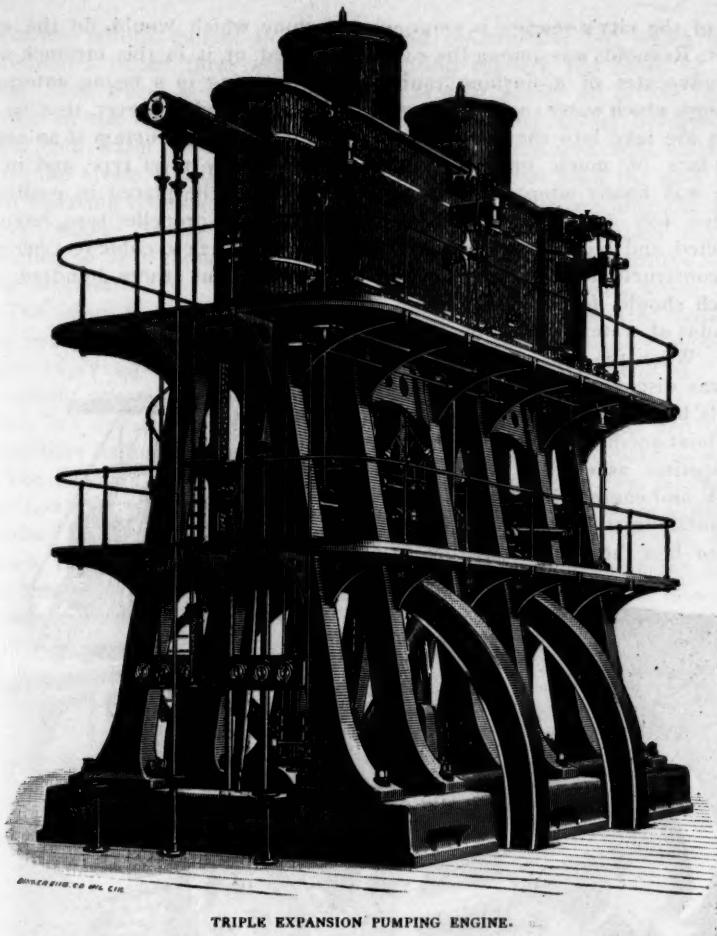
With this proposition agreed to, he set about constructing a machine, the operation of which could be sufficiently cheapened to effect a marked saving in the course of ten years. The result of his labors was the construction of the first Triple Expansion pumping engine ever designed for water-works purposes. The duty guaranteed for the machine was one hundred and fifteen million foot-pounds for each one hundred pounds of anthracite coal burned, and the work had to be done under what the most eminent engineers looked upon as an insurmountable difficulty, inasmuch as the city authorities only allowed a steam pressure of eighty pounds. With the almost unanimous opinion of engineering experts against him and with some misgivings on the part of his principals as to the practicability of his scheme, he proceeded quietly with his work and when the triple expansion pumping engine was completed and placed in position, an official test showed that it exceeded its guaranteed duty and it has since shown a duty of one hundred and twenty-seven million foot-pounds for each one hundred pounds of anthracite coal burned.



The National Magazine

Edwin Reynolds





TRIPLE EXPANSION PUMPING ENGINE.

The saving in running expense effected through Mr. Reynold's invention in this instance, had enabled him to make a bid for the work of construction which gave him an easy victory over his competitors.

Since that time pumping engines of this type have been built and contracted for, for various cities in the United States, including Milwaukee, Chicago, Albany, N. Y., New Orleans,

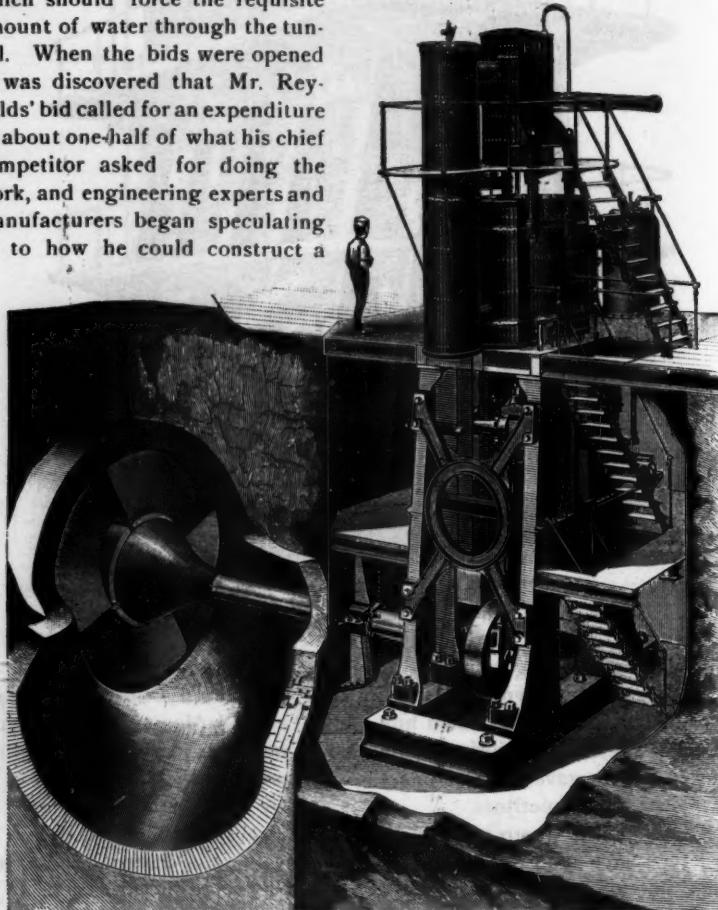
Winona, Minn., St. Paul, Minn., Detroit, Omaha, Brookline, Mass., and Taunton, Mass., with daily capacity of more than 200 million gallons.

A novel type of engine was devised by Mr. Reynolds to meet another emergency in Milwaukee. For several years a spirited controversy was carried on in the city as to the best means of purifying the Milwaukee River, into which a large propor-

tion of the city's sewage is emptied. Mr. Reynolds was among the earliest advocates of a flushing tunnel, through which water should be forced from the lake into the river; and in the face of much opposition this plan was finally adopted. A tunnel twelve feet in diameter was constructed and bids advertised for, for the construction of a pumping engine which should force the requisite amount of water through the tunnel. When the bids were opened it was discovered that Mr. Reynolds' bid called for an expenditure of about one-half of what his chief competitor asked for doing the work, and engineering experts and manufacturers began speculating as to how he could construct a

machine which would do the work required of it in this instance without engaging in a losing enterprise.

It developed, however, that he had in mind the construction of an engine of an entirely novel type, and in the fall of 1888 he placed in position a pump of the propeller type, having a capacity of 32,000 cubic feet per minute, or about three hundred and



REYNOLDS' SCREW ENGINE.

forty-five million gallons in twenty-four hours, raised three and a half feet. The wheel is located in the mouth of the tunnel and forces the clear cold water of Lake Michigan into the river, diluting the sewage and reducing the temperature of the river water during the summer months, so as to render it innocuous and odorless.

The pump is capable of renewing the entire amount of water in the river every eighteen hours, and its practical operation for nearly five years has demonstrated that it does more than its builder promised for it.

The Reynolds' ore stamp in use in the Lake Superior Copper Mines is another of Mr. Reynolds' inventions which has wrought a revolution in the field of its operations.

"Until within the last few years," says *Cassier's Magazine*, "all steam stamps were constructed with the anvil block and mortar resting on heavy timbers, which were supported at the ends only. The spring timbers, so called, were supposed to be essential to the operation of the machine, being claimed by experts that with solid foundations the stamps could not be made durable and would not crush as much rock as with the spring timber bottom. In defiance of these theories, Mr. Reynolds proposed the construction of a stamp having a solid cast-iron foundation, and his proposition having been accepted with a guarantee of at least equaling the spring-bottom machines, he built the machine illustrated. When put in operation the stamp with the solid foundation crushed about fifty per cent. more rock in twenty-four hours than machines of exactly similar size

and construction but which sat on spring timbers, the result of which was that nearly all of the old machines having spring bottoms have had them replaced with solid anvil blocks. Aside from the gain in the capacity of the machine, the substitution of solid bottoms has done away with the expense of the renewal of the spring timbers, which on the old machines are required frequently, the life of the timbers depending largely on the weight of the stamp and the blow struck."

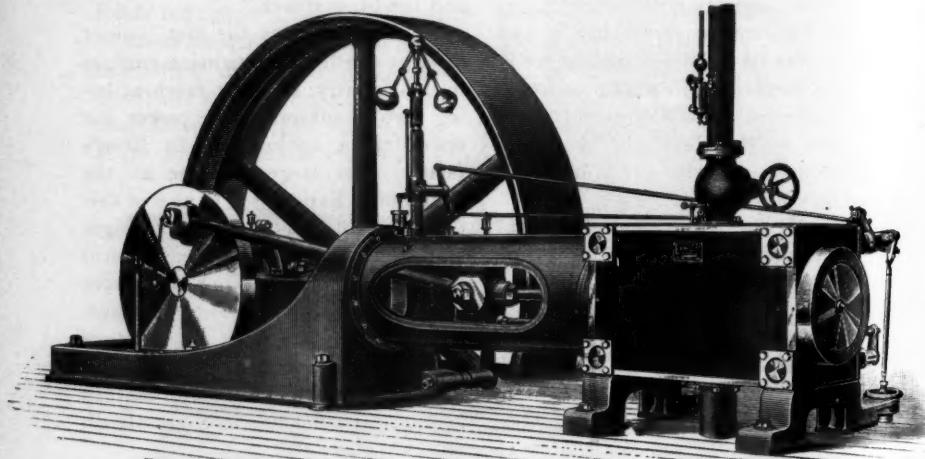
Mr. Reynolds was the first builder of large quadruple expansion engines in this country; the first machine being two thousand horse power for operating a cotton mill in Rhode Island. The largest engine at the Columbian Exposition is also of this type and of Mr. Reynolds' design, and his invention of mechanical devices of minor importance have been numerous. His aim and purpose has always been to produce something of practical utility in his field of operation, and few American inventors have more intelligently directed their efforts.

He was born in Mansfield, Conn., March 23d, 1831, and is the son of Christopher Reynolds, a New England farmer, whose wife was Clarissa Huntington. The immigrant ancestor of the Reynolds family in New England was William Reynolds, who came from Gloucestershire, England, and settled at North Kingstown, Rhode Island in 1636. In 1637 this William Reynolds was at Providence and received his parcel in the first allotment to white men of the lands on which the city of Providence is now located. Herodias Hicks, one

of his descendants, a Quakeress, suffered the lash and imprisonment by order of Governor Endicott of Massachusetts, because of her religious beliefs. Theophilus Whaley, a representative of one of the collateral branches of the Reynolds family, was an officer in Cromwell's army, who was present at the execution of King Charles I. and in England and America the family has been prolific of interesting characters.

The Huntington family has also

trade. After that he worked in various shops in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Ohio until 1857, when he removed to Aurora, Indiana, and became superintendent of the shops of Steadman & Co., whose principal work was the building of engines, saw-mills and drainage pumps for Mississippi plantations. The breaking out of the Civil War interrupted this business and in the spring of 1861 Mr. Reynolds returned to Connecticut. During the next six years

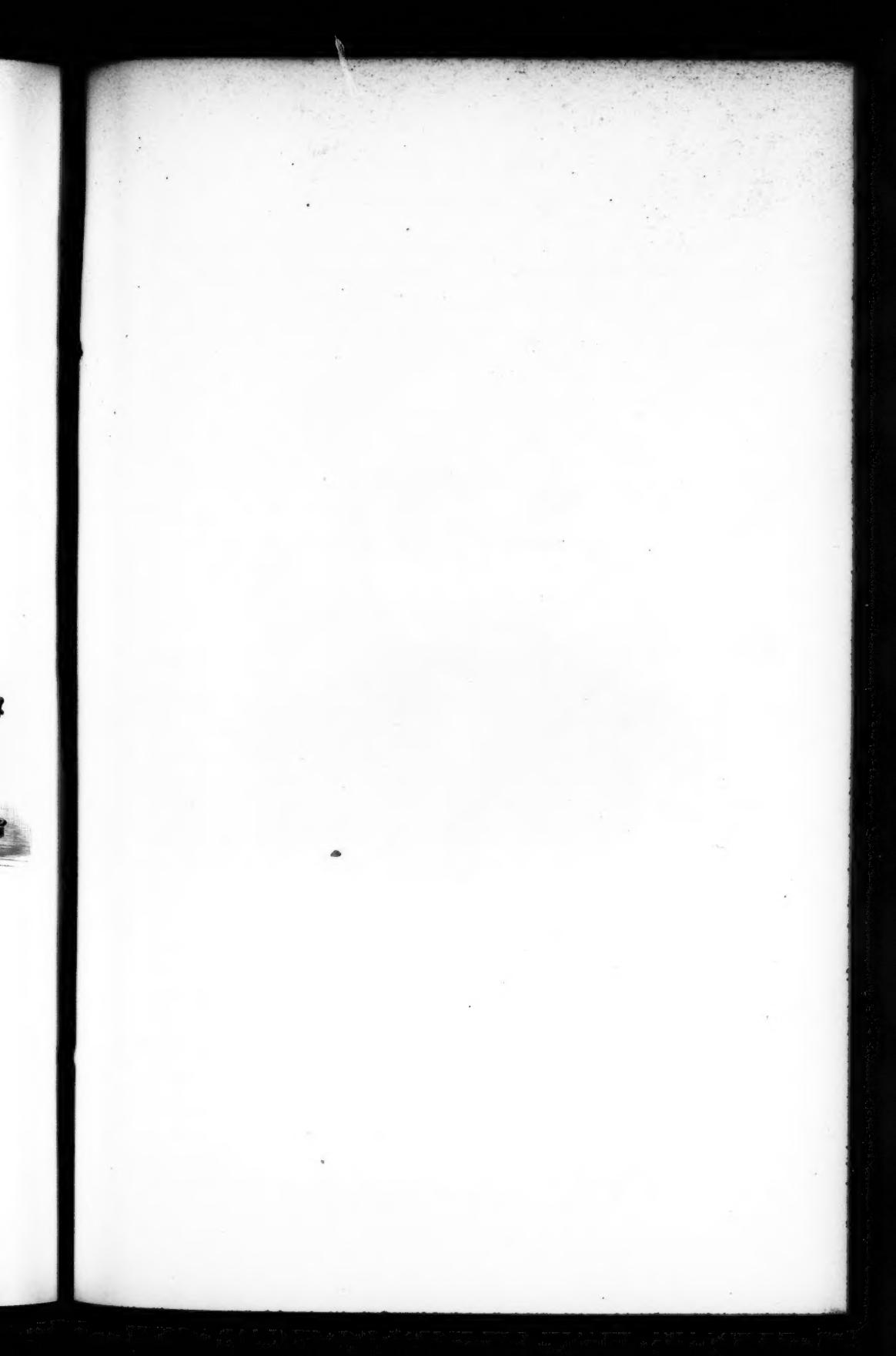


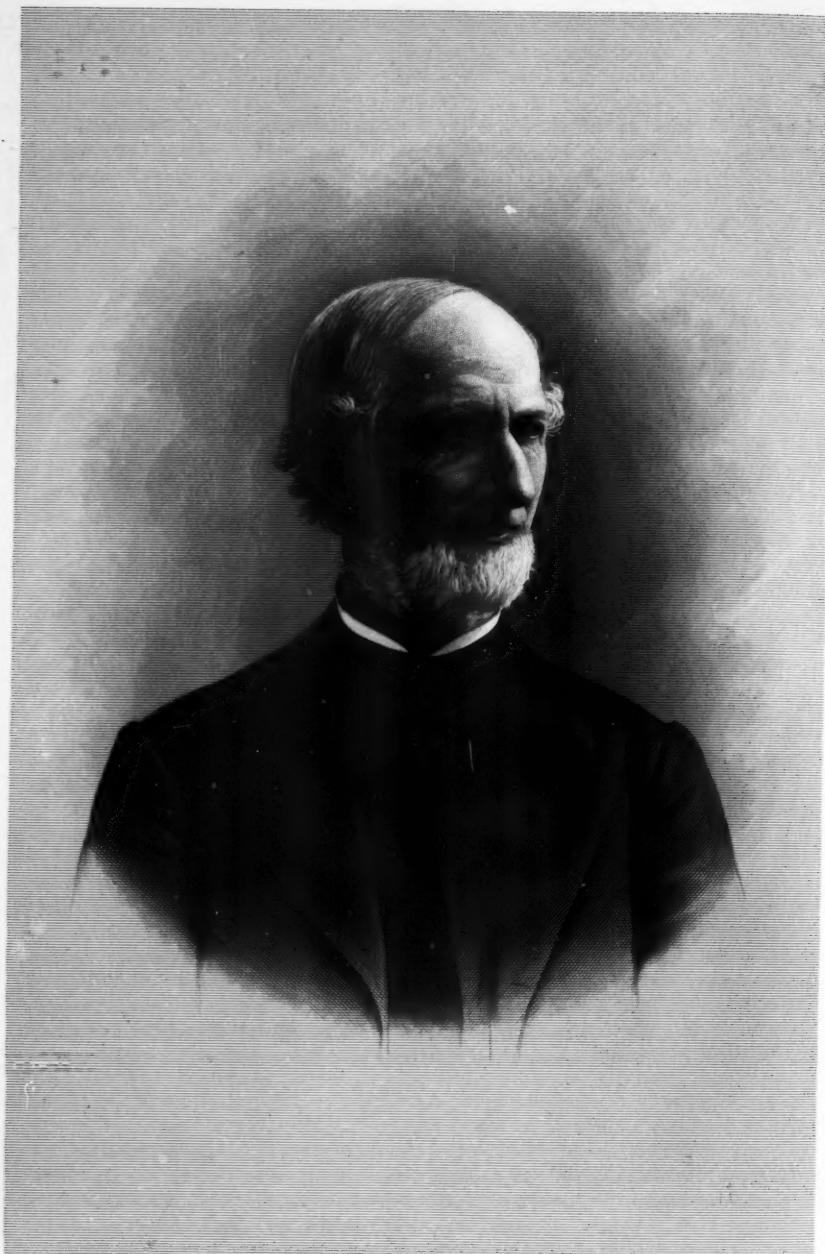
"1890," REYNOLDS' CORLISS ENGINE.

been conspicuous in English and American history, and a scion of this stock might reasonably be expected to become somewhat famous, although his start in life was not propitious.

Brought up on a farm Edwin Reynolds received only a common school education and thorough industrial training. When he was sixteen years old he was apprenticed to a machinist and spent three years learning his

he was engaged with New York and Boston manufacturers, and in 1867 entered the employ of the Corliss Engine Company at Providence, Rhode Island. At the end of four years he had become general superintendent of the Corliss works and he retained the position until 1877, when he came to Milwaukee to take the general superintendence of the Edward P. Allis Reliance Works. In this capacity his mechanical and en-





The National Magazine

Robert Meadowcroft

gineering as well as his general business ability has been put to a thorough test, and the marvelous development of the works into one of the most extensive establishments of the kind in the United States, is evidence of the fact that he has been master of the situation. The confidence in his ability and integrity strengthened with the years of their association, and when Mr. Allis died Mr. Reynolds was named as one of the trustees of his estate.

He is second Vice-President of the corporation. He is President of the Milwaukee Boiler Company, of the Daisy Roller Mills and of the Morning Mining Company, facts which evidence material prosperity and the accumulation of fortune.

As a business man he has been eminently successful and as a mechanical engineer and inventor he has achieved a celebrity which is not confined to the United States.

WESTERN PIONEERS.

ROBERT MEADOWCROFT.

ROBERT MEADOWCROFT who died in Chicago about the 1st of February last, was at the time of his death one of the oldest bankers of the city and a pioneer who had lived in Northeastern Illinois almost sixty years. He was a native of England having been born in Liverpool in 1813. In 1830 he came to the United States and first made his home in New Jersey where he engaged actively in business while still a very young man. For a time he gave his attention to the operation of silk and woolen mills in that state, but in 1835 he determined to seek a more favorable field for investment in the West, and disposing of his interests in New Jersey he removed to Chicago.

The fertile farming lands west of the village of that period—in what is now Du Page County, attracted his attention and he settled on a farm near the old town of Napierville which had been laid out by Joseph Napier, famous as a lake captain in the

early history of upper lake navigation. This occupation was not entirely congenial to the enterprising young Englishman who had been trained for a more active business career, and in 1845 when Chicago began to recover from the depression which had followed in the wake of the prodigious land speculation indulged in between 1835 and 1840, he returned to the city and engaged in business as a grocer and ship chandler. While interested in this business he also became one of the most prominent vessel owners of the west and was actively identified with the shipping interests of Chicago until 1860, when he organized the banking firm of Meadowcroft brothers his brother Richard Meadowcroft becoming associated with him.

In this new calling he proved himself a sagacious as well as a careful and conservative financier. Sterling honesty and strict integrity characterized all his operations and the bank-

ing house of Meadowcroft Brothers developed into one of the solid and popular financial institutions of Chicago. For a full quarter of a century the two brothers carried on the business together and the two sons of Robert Meadowcroft were brought up, after the approved English fashion to become identified with the same institution and succeed to its management. Richard Meadowcroft

retired from the banking business in 1885 and in 1888 C. J. and F. R. Meadowcroft became associated with their father as active partners. The senior member of the firm continued to give the business a large share of his attention until stricken with the illness which resulted in his death, and brought to a close the career of one of the pioneer financiers of the city.

CHRONICLES OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. III.

THOMAS FREEMAN.

A PIONEER of two States, a pro-motor of important enterprises in the chief city of the West, a benefactor of the town in which he spent the last thirty years of his life, an accomplished, self-educated and self-made man was Thomas Freeman, who died at his home in the city of Evanston, Illinois, on the 5th of March last. Nearly fifty years prior to his demise he had made his entré into the little frontier city of Chicago and with the exception of two years spent in California he has been identified with the city ever since, living to see it the second city of the United States in point of population, on the eve of opening an exposition of the arts and manufactures of the civilized world unequaled in magnificence and magnitude by any preceding exhibitions of similar character.

To have been a witness of this wonderful transformation of a straggling frontier village into one of the foremost cities of the world is a distinction which few men have en-

joyed, and to have been an important factor in promoting this growth and development is to have been a character entitled to a permanent place in history, a pioneer the record of whose life should be preserved for future generations.

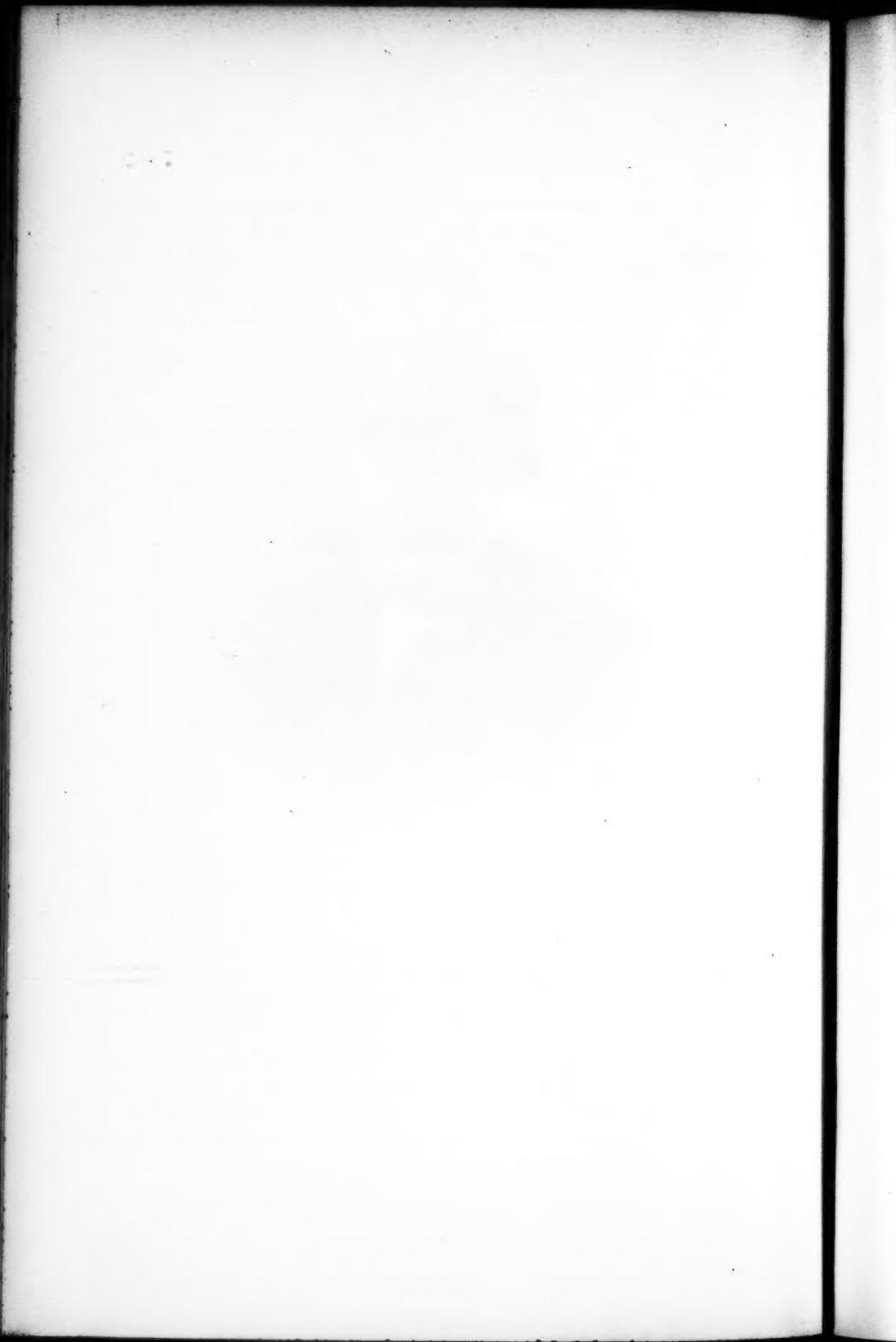
Thomas Freeman was born in Ireland April 24th, 1821, of English parents. When he was one year old his parents came to this country and located at Sunbury, Pennsylvania. There he grew to manhood receiving a fair education, learned the carpenter's trade and began life on his own account. He worked at his trade in Sunbury, Milton, Philadelphia, Williamsport and New York until 1844, and while working in Williamsport formed the acquaintance of Miss Elizabeth McMurray, of Irish parentage, who afterward became his wife.

In 1844 an ambition to become identified with a young and growing community and to profit by its development brought him to Chicago. The era of substantial improvement



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Tho. Freeman



had just then fairly begun in the city and he found an abundance of work at his trade to which he gave diligent attention until 1850 when the gold discovery in California tempted him to the Pacific coast. In the early months of that year in company with several other adventurous spirits, he fitted up a wagon train and set out for the gold fields. Their experiences in crossing the plains and mountains, in avoiding hostile Indians and keeping themselves supplied with the necessities of life, in traveling over long stretches of country in which white men had no habitation, were the experiences of thousands of their confreres of that period, and without special incident, albeit they were experiences which men can never again have on the American continent unless it should happen that civilization should take a backward turn.

He arrived in California in the summer of 1850 and was part and parcel of that tidal wave of immigration which shaped the destinies of the territory and made it one of the States of the Union. In a business way he gave only a share of his attention to mining, but engaged in contracting and other enterprises in which he was uniformly successful. Notwithstanding this prosperity, there were ties which bound him to the Eastern States too strong to be broken by a continued residence in California, and in 1852 he returned to Williamsport, Pennsylvania, where he was married to Elizabeth McMurray with whom he had become acquainted eight or ten years, prior to that date.

Immediately after his marriage Mr. Freeman located again in Chicago

where he started a sash and blind factory and invested largely in real estate. Not long afterward he became a dealer in realty and in connection with this business took up the study of law. In 1855 he was admitted to the bar and from that time gave his attention mainly to the realty business and the practice of his profession. Naturally a student, his success in life enabled him to gratify his literary tastes and to become familiar with the best of English literature. A large and carefully selected library found a place in his own home and at the same time he interested himself actively in public library upbuilding. Removing from Chicago to Evanston in 1863 he became one of the benefactors of the famous college town, being the founder in part of the Evanston Free Library and a generous friend of the Northwestern University.

While actively engaged in business in Chicago he was the organizer and first president of the first building and loan association in the city, and a pioneer in promoting the growth of these institutions which have furnished to thousands of people the means for obtaining their own homes. Upright and honest in all his transactions, careful and conscientious in all his business operations, widely known to the older residents of the city, he enjoyed a large measure of public confidence and esteem, and his death which occurred suddenly and unexpectedly brought to an unusually large number of friends a feeling of personal bereavement.

Politically he was only active during and immediately preceding the Civil war, when all his energies were enlisted in the suppression of the re-

billion and the liberation of the slaves. At one time an office-mate of Abraham Lincoln he enjoyed an intimate personal acquaintance with him and was an ardent admirer and supporter of the martyr-president when he was little known outside of Illinois. As one of the early abolitionists of

Chicago, he was one of the men who could always be depended upon to tender sympathy and assistance to the fugitive slave and as an efficient conductor on the "underground railway" he is held in kindly remembrance by old associates in the work of making freemen out of slaves.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR LEADERS.

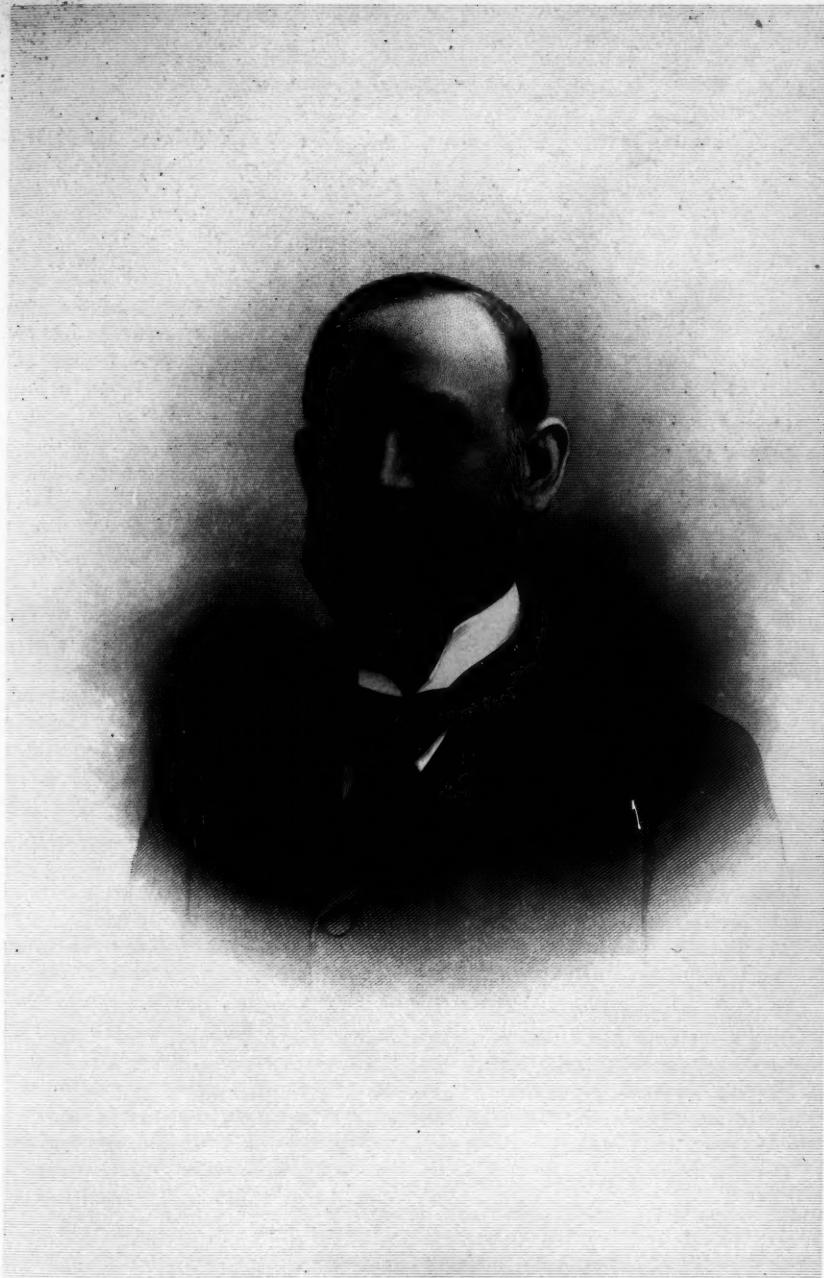
COLONEL WILLIAM P. THOMPSON.

IN business life there are many circles of achievement, characterized by differences in the personal ability displayed, and the consequent magnitude of the work accomplished. We frequently find true success in the humblest walk and the smallest sphere of action. We find others who have established reputations in the circle of a certain city or particular section of the country. A still higher circle, but very much more limited in the number of persons comprising it, includes those whose business enterprises have been on such a scale as to gain for them a national reputation.

Prominent in this class stands Colonel William P. Thompson, of New-York, the brief outlines of whose life we are about to present. A business career, as compared with almost any professional walk in life, is the most quiet and conservative, the least obtrusive and ostentatious of avocations. The same energies and abilities which, when expanded in business are largely hidden and unappreciated would frequently suffice to bring considerable renown in politics or a pro-

fession. Thus when we find a person whose force of character has compelled the conservative channels of financial operations or business enterprises to really yield him a national reputation, we can readily believe that his abilities would have lifted him easily to pre-eminence in any other walk of life he might have chosen. We can especially believe this of Colonel Thompson, and this will be evident to the reader as we proceed.

He was born at Wheeling, then in Virginia, on the 7th of January, 1837, his father, Judge George W. Thompson, being of that excellent Irish extraction which has furnished a brilliant strain to so many families of old Virginia gentlemen. The elder Thompson was a life-long Democrat, who represented his district in Congress. He resigned his seat in this body in 1852, to become a Judge of the Circuit Court of Virginia. After serving in this capacity for eight years, he was re-elected, but was deposed from office in 1861, because although a Union man, he questioned



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Yours truly
W. T. Thompson

the constitutionality of rending the new State, West Virginia, from the seceding Commonwealth. Judge Thompson had also decided literary tastes. He was a refined scholar and a graceful writer. He was especially fond of the study of philosophy, and published several volumes on this subject. He also displayed unusual talent in versification. His many poems, published in various periodicals, proved him possessed of no mean ability in this direction.

Colonel Thompson's mother, likewise, was a woman of superior talents. She was the daughter of Mr. Daniel Steenrod, a gentleman of wealth and influence in Western Virginia, whose son, Hon. Lewis Steenrod, represented the Wheeling District in Congress for many years. Mrs. Thompson was a leader in the society of Wheeling at a time when that city was one of the social centers of the country. She also possessed more of the christian and household graces than are often seen displayed in one person.

As a child, Colonel Thompson was delicate and of a nervous temperament, with studious inclinations. He attended the Wheeling public schools, studied a considerable time at Linsley Institute, and spent a single term at Jefferson College, in Pennsylvania, this institution being then in the noonday of its fame. With a father and an uncle who both were ex-Congressmen and active politicians, the boy quite naturally became early interested in politics. When but fourteen years of age he enjoyed the complete confidence of his father and participated in all his political manipulations. He presently began the study of law, but before he could

finish his readings, failing health compelled him to desist. He thereupon spent a year "roughing it" in Marshall County, Virginia, which rude country furnished all the discipline of backwoods life. Here he became a successful lumberman. But even in this rough district the politician in him soon cropped out.

Marshall County was divided into eight districts, near the junction of three of which Mr. Thompson conducted his business operations. The young man wrote letters, drew up documents and gave informal legal advice to the rough farmers and lumbermen in his neighborhood. These kindnesses inspired the confidence of the countrymen, and during his absence from the county, the time for nominating a Congressman drawing nigh, his name began to be mentioned throughout the three districts for the nomination. There were eight other aspirants for the office, and finding Mr. Thompson's popularity the most serious obstacle in the way of all, these eight men made common cause to discredit him throughout the county, preparatory to a final struggle among themselves.

Mr. Thompson returned to learn simultaneously both that a canvass was being conducted in his favor, and that this formidable coalition of candidates were making strenuous efforts to defame his reputation throughout the county. The young man was then but nineteen years of age, and inelegible to the office of Congressman. But the gratuitous slanders of the political "combine" in opposition nettled him, and he determined to seek vindication at the hands of the people.

Instantly, when the knowledge of the state of affairs reached him, he traded one of his work-horses for a spirited riding-mare, and galloped away to the caucus being held in a distant school-house. The meeting was just breaking up when he arrived. The simple countrymen had been harangued by some of the hostile coalition, and had consented to action in opposition to Mr. Thompson. The young man gathered them together outside and demanded to know what charges the orators had brought against him. Then he led them into the school-house once more and with simple and straight-forward eloquence made his defense, declaring that he had neither sought nor desired the nomination for Congress, but that he did demand the vindication of the honest people from the defamation he had suffered.

The response was instant, and disregarding the other orators who sat without a word among them, the men reversed their action in Mr. Thompson's favor. From this point the canvass was a pitched battle. When the convention assembled Mr. Thompson developed such strength as to lack but two votes of the two-thirds necessary for a nomination. At this juncture it was announced to the convention, on the authority of Mr. Thompson's uncle, that the young candidate was not yet of age, and ineligible for office. But contrary to expectations, this announcement only resulted in securing his nomination, on the next ballot, by a two-thirds vote, which was immediately made unanimous. Mr. Thompson appeared before the convention, thanked them for the honor and the vindication of his char-

acter, but declined to accept, naming another man in his place. This nominee was immediately confirmed to the great chagrin of the eight conspirators.

Returning to Wheeling a little later in improved health Mr. Thompson finished his law studies, and in 1857 was admitted to the bar. Being unwilling to practice in the Courts presided over by his father, and in order that every thought of favoritism might be excluded, he removed to Fairmont, Marion County, where he formed a partnership with Alpheus F. Haymond. The latter gentlemen afterwards became a Justice of the Supreme Court of West Virginia. Just before the outbreak of the civil war, Mr. Thompson was put forth as a candidate for the constitutional convention. There were five candidates in the field. Two of these were champions of secession, and the hot war-feeling which surged up just before the election sufficed to carry these men into the Convention. Mr. Thompson's friends begged and pleaded with him to make some compromise of his principles, so that they might vote for him, but he firmly refused. At the convention the nomination was offered to him if he would only agree to vote for secession as a last extremity, but this he also declined to do.

Both of the Thompsons, father and son, opposed secession, deprecated the war, and reasoned for a fair compromise of the difficulties. The young lawyer fully realized and freely declared that secession meant certain war, and that war meant inevitable humiliation and defeat for the South. Yet fully appreciating the

position, he believed with General Robert E. Lee and other patriots who held similar views, that his allegiance belonged to his native State. Sadly, yet without hesitation, he acquiesced in the determination which carried the "Old Dominion" out of the Union and joined in the marvelous defense, which under the brilliant leadership of Gen. Lee, for so long time, and against such odds, repelled every invasion of her territory. Major General Thomas S. Haymond when he received his commission from Richmond called upon Mr. Thompson to become an aide-de-camp and his chief-of-staff. The young lawyer accepted the appointment.

The loss of Western Virginia was early foreseen. General Haymond, who was in command of the militia in that section, called a private conference of leading citizens to discuss the situation. It being inevitable that the western section of the State, with its strong Union sentiment and inaccessibility by reason of the Alleghany Mountains, could not permanently be held, a strong military demonstration in that section at the outset was recommended for its moral effect in securing the enlistment of as many Western Virginians as possible in the Confederate Army. Captain Thompson was unanimously elected by this conference to proceed to Richmond and place the results of its deliberations before the Governor and his council. This mission he faithfully performed, and upon the strength of his representations an expedition into Western Virginia by way of Harper's Ferry was promptly planned by General Lee, to be under the command of the famous "Stonewall" Jackson, then

a colonel in the Confederate Army.

After arranging the plans for this expedition with Lee and Jackson, Colonel Thompson returned to West Virginia and organized and became captain of the Marion Guards. He also got together a company from Clarksburg, under the command of Captain Turner, and another from Taylor County, under the command of Captain Hansborough. With these troops he took possession of Fetterman, a little town near Grafton, and here waited daily expecting Stonewall Jackson to seize the railroad and concentrate his forces at Grafton.

But the activity of the Federal troops made it utterly impossible for Jackson or the troops with him to leave Harper's Ferry. Colonel Porterfield, instead, was sent into Western Virginia with a body of troops, across the Alleghany mountains. Meanwhile Gen. Malone had entered the section and organized the Union sympathizers. After the skirmish at Philippi, Col. Porterfield retreated, until Gen. Garnett appeared to relieve him of the command. Garnett was subsequently defeated at Rich mountain, Laurel Hill and Carnafix Ferry, and with his entire force retreated back of the Alleghany mountains. Thus ended the attempt at a demonstration in Western Virginia.

Tendered a commission by the governor while in Richmond, as Lieutenant-Colonel, young Thompson refused the honor as doubtful of his fitness. "If I achieve this position by meritorious work by the end of the war," he replied "I shall be amply satisfied." A little later, with his company, he participated in the battle of Philippi, and from this time forth was actively en-

gaged until the close of the contest. He was with General Garnett at Laurel Hill, and was at the side of this brave officer when he fell at Carrick's Ford. Under General Edward Johnston he fought at Cheat Mountain, Greenbrier River and Alleghany Mountain. In this last battle his brother, Lewis S. Thompson, a gallant young officer, was killed while leading a charge. Later on Colonel Thompson participated in the memorable campaigns under General Stonewall Jackson, Breckinridge and Early. In the winter of 1862-63, he was associated with General William C. Jackson, a personal friend, and several others, in the organization of a brigade of cavalry. Of this force General Jackson became commander, while Colonel Thompson, under him, commanded what was known as the Nineteenth Virginia Cavalry. This regiment earned an enviable reputation in the service and figured in the hottest engagements until the close of the war, ending with the fighting about Richmond, and General Early's brilliant but unavailing resistance to General Sheridan.

After the war, Col. Thompson turned to the practice of the law. Such was the antagonism which his character as an ex-Confederate aroused, that only one judge in West Virginia, Judge Stewart of Doddridge county, would permit him to practice. Even this official was in danger of impeachment for his intrepidity, and learning this Col. Thompson withdrew. In July, 1866, he removed to Parkersburg and engaged in the oil business with his brother-in-law, Senator J. N. Camden, and Mr. W. N. Chancellor. Both

these partners were engaged in other enterprises, so that almost the entire management of the oil-works developed upon Col. Thompson. He soon mastered the business, and built up a great success. Greatly enlarged facilities were obtained and the sale of crude oils developed. The discovery of a generous vein of lubricating oil near Parkersburg was followed by a prompt acquisition of the entire product by Col. Thompson's firm. They thus became the largest dealers in lubricating oil in the world. Later on, when the supply of natural lubricating oil began to decline, they established refineries and began its manufacture.

In 1875, the firm formerly known as "J. N. Camden & Co." entered into relations with the Standard Oil Company. Mr. Chancellor retired. A re-organization was affected under the style of the "Camden Consolidated Oil Company," of which Senator Camden was president, and Col. Thompson vice-president. From this time forth, Col. Thompson figured in connection with the great Standard Oil Company, his unusual executive abilities securing him immediate recognition. He bought, practically, all the refineries at Parkersburg and Marietta, and assisted in securing desirable commercial connections throughout the western country. In 1881 he removed to Cleveland, Ohio, as one of the executive officers of the company. In 1882 he became secretary, and in 1884 succeeded Col. Oliver H. Payne as vice-president of the great corporation. In this position he had the general charge of the affairs of the company throughout the entire territory west of Buffalo.

The growing business of the corporation compelled his removal to New York City in 1887. The various companies entered into a trust form, and Col. Thompson became chairman of the domestic committee, having in charge the internal affairs of the trust. In this position his abilities had full play, and he was so successful that, in 1889, he felt justified in carrying out his intention, for some time cherished, of retiring to private life. He endeavored to do this, but about this time another large enterprise was presented to him and insistently urged upon his acceptance.

The question of developing what was known as the "lead trust" was under consideration, and it was insisted that Col. Thompson should undertake the task. The trust included three large smelting plants, all the principal white lead factories, large red lead and litharge factories, several factories for the manufacture of sheet lead and lead pipe, and three large linseed oil factories—all of these scattered throughout the country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboard.

Col. Thompson, having accepted the presidency, promptly set to work to organize and discipline this large business. The individual companies were indebted to the extent of \$5,000,000. They had all been rivals and no sort of organization had been effected. The trust had been brought together under an enormous capitalization, which was four times as great as the intrinsic values represented. Moreover, the combination had been effected under agreements which it was feared would not stand the test of legal examination. The task of

re-organization, and of placing the property of the shareholders in legal shape was a necessary duty involving tremendous labor and skill. This was accomplished in a phenomenally economical manner. The capital was reduced from \$90,000,000 to \$30,000,000. On the 1st of January, 1892, the National Lead Company was formed, assuming the assets of the National Lead Trust, while this mammoth property was placed on a dividend-paying basis. Every dollar of indebtedness has been paid off, and within the past three and one-half years, dividends have been paid to the shareholders of more than \$2,500,000. Col. Thompson has continued president under both styles of organization. In the meantime, however, he became director, and subsequently vice-president of the United States National Bank. This institution having removed from No. 1 Broadway to 41 and 43 Wall street, and some changes in personnel effected, he had the pleasure of seeing its deposits doubled in the short space of one year. He is also a director in the Southern National Bank, a charter member of the American Pig Iron Warrant Company, one of the governors of the American Assurance Lloyd Company, and a director and member of the executive committee of the Ohio River Railroad Company, of the Monargough Railroad Company, of the Monauga Coal Company, and of the Huntington & Big Sandy Railroad Company—in all of which he owns large interests.

In the spring of 1893, Col. Thompson consummated a long cherished plan by the purchase, in its entirety, of the great estate created by the late

D. D. Withers, in Monmouth county, N. J., and known as Brookdale. This is the most remarkable property of its kind in the country. Along with the estate Col. Thompson acquired the perfected breeding establishment brought together by Mr. Withers during twenty-five years of great labor and thought, together with all the thoroughbreds and various paraphernalia pertaining thereunto. The estate consists of some 840 acres, and is stocked with 140 head of the most fashionable thoroughbreds in America. There is a sufficient complement of cattle and other live-stock. It is the ambition of the new proprietor to breed the finest thoroughbred horses in America.

Brookdale henceforth will be the country home where Col. Thompson and his charming wife and family will enjoy the good things of life, and dispense to their numerous friends a gracious hospitality, such as has characterized their handsome home on Fifth avenue.

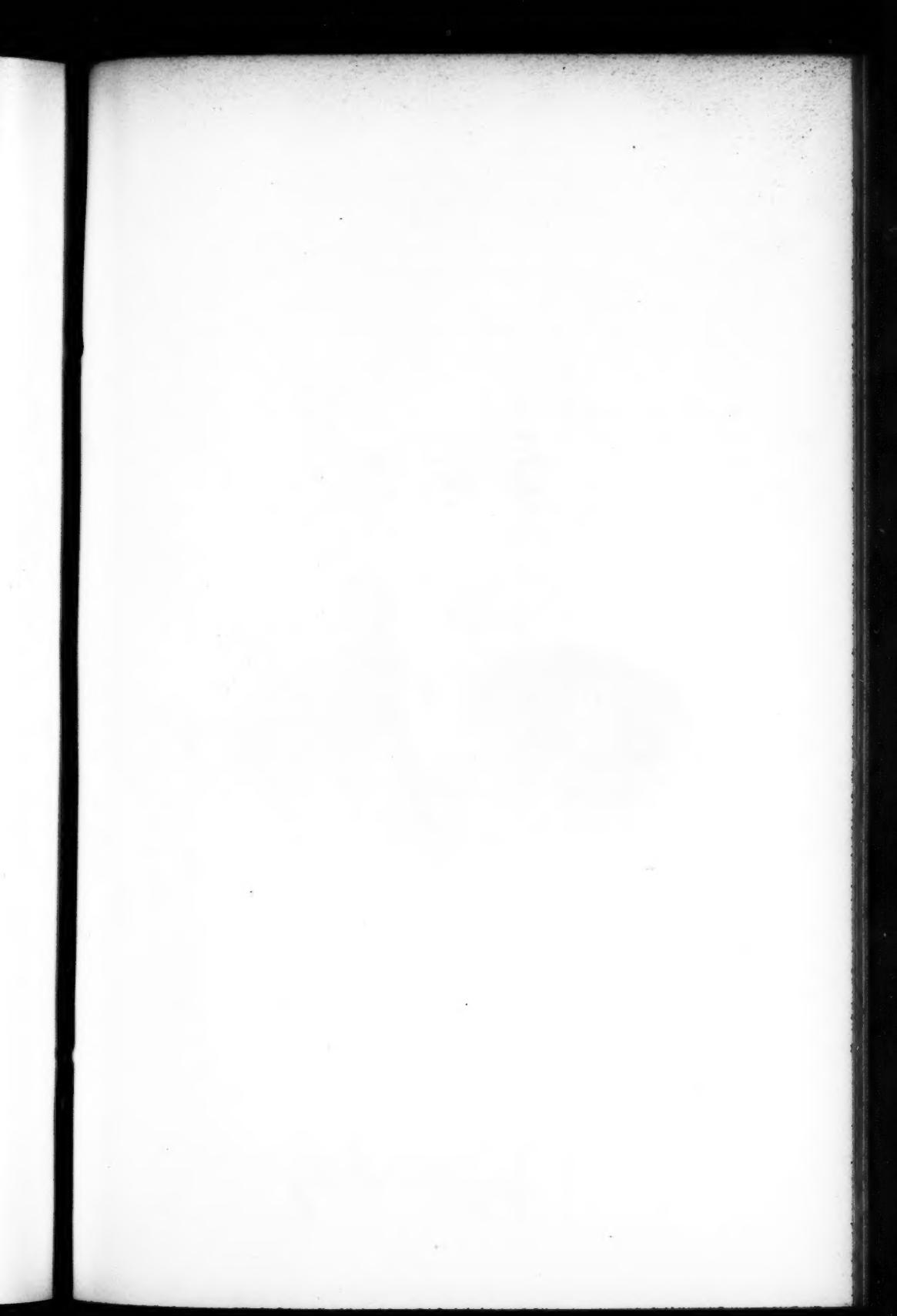
In 1864, Col. Thompson was married to Miss Evelyn Moffat, of Pocahontas county, Va. She is a daughter of Col. Henry Moffat, of one of the oldest Virginia families, which is connected with such well-known families of the "Old Dominion" as the McDowells, Stuarts, Franciscos, Warwicks and various others. Col. and Mrs. Thompson have been blessed with three children, two sons and a

daughter, who together form one of the most delightful of households.

Col. Thompson, personally, is a gentleman of high mind and fine tastes, tall and lithe in appearance, graceful in bearing, pleasing in address, fluent, even eloquent, in speech; his hair but slightly grizzled—one upon whom the years sit lightly; in the full vigor of life, and the full flood of his business activities.

Col. Thompson takes a philosophical view of the progress of civilization. He is an optimist. The evolution of nations, the migrations and immigrations of peoples, which vex so many minds, in his view are only intelligent and well-planned manœuvres to work out, gradually but surely, the plans of improvement and progress conceived for man by the great Head over all. Col. Thompson believes that all things adjust themselves to bring out in the end what is just and right. He believes that the highest mission in life is not to harass, agitate and turn things upside down, but to soothe, ameliorate, do away with the frictions, and so contribute to the harmonious working out of the great and inevitable laws which underly human destiny. This, in the line of all his great operations, has been the constant aim of his own efforts. And this, according to the standpoint of his own philosophy, is the measure of his individual success in life.

L. A. BOND.





Engr by Williams New York

The New York History

Day & Thrall

WAS JAY GOULD MISJUDGED?

A STUDY FROM DATA HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

MR. JAY GOULD enjoyed more than a national reputation. The number of his contemporaries in America whose names were equally well-known, equally familiar to every man and every school-boy in the land, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Moreover his achievements were of that nature which is supposed to be more characteristically "American" than any other. They were purely business enterprises. Beginning life with his bare hands, he acquired greater wealth than any one man in the country's history had ever done before. Indeed, leaving out of the question conquerors who have amassed riches as spoils of war, Mr. Gould's achievement was unprecedented in the known history of the world. Others have inherited wealth, and with the advantage of such original capital have built up great fortunes. But Mr. Gould's first dollar, as well as his last million, was altogether the product of his own exertions.

Several peculiar things confront us at the threshold, in the consideration of Mr. Gould's life. We know of no person of equal renown who, leading the life merely of a business man and having no part in politics, has had so much said-about him that was evil, and so little that was good. His name has been one to conjure by in financial matters. He has been held up throughout the length and breadth of the land as the supreme example of all that is relentless and unscrupulous in business methods. Two de-

cades, with a sort of fear and wonder, beheld in him "the Wizard of Wall Street." Was this popular estimate just? If not, how shall we account for it?

Mr. Gould's career was contemporaneous with a period characterized both by the rapid acquisition of enormous wealth on the part of the few, and the awakening of a general discontent, pointing more or less toward socialistic ideas, on the part of the many. The man whose energies and abilities carried him to the foremost place in the first class, would naturally attract in a special way the criticism and animosity of the second class. Mr. Gould occupied this unenviable place. As he was the best known exponent, so inevitably he became in a way the martyr of the class to which he belonged. The out-and-out socialist, on the premises of his belief, might have a legitimate quarrel with Mr. Gould, just as he would have with every other rich man. But we think it can be shown that the majority of men, who hold with Mr. Gould the right of individual property and the right of unlimited acquisition by honest methods, can make no criticism of him which does not apply to every other man in the same class. Of course this view requires a correction of the popularly accepted versions of many of Mr. Gould's business transactions. But such a correction we believe the facts of the case warrant, and these facts it is our purpose briefly to outline in their proper place in this sketch.

One important point must be borne in mind for an intelligent understanding of Mr. Gould's life. He possessed in an unusual degree that peculiar pride and sensitiveness which refrains from explaining a misunderstanding or from rectifying a false judgment when self is the sole sufferer. A published misrepresentation did not drive him, as it does most men, into the public prints for an immediate explanation. If men were ready to accuse, and the world to receive the accusation, he let them do so. Instances of this kind were numerous. The most severe charges concerning some of Mr. Gould's largest transactions were met with silence, and not until years afterward, perhaps, upon the witness stand or before some Congressional committee, was his side of the story told. Of course, in the popular mind, this determined silence was practically a confession of guilt. But while he must have realized that his silence only deepened the misunderstanding, this did not suffice to open Mr. Gould's mouth. Each unanswered accusation added some new preposterous feature to the strange image which the mention of his name served to conjure up in the imagination of the people. He became a man of an iron heart, unscrupulous and unmerciful, the Wizard of the Street. His silence was also interpreted as indicating an utter indifference to public opinion, an imperviousness to criticism. Yet the truth was the direct opposite of this. Mr. Gould possessed his soul in patience, resting in the firm confidence that the verdict of time would render him complete if tardy justice.

The writer confesses to the unfamiliarity of this view, but if any one believes it far-fetched and fantastic, let him review the events of Mr. Gould's life in this light and see whether it furnishes an intelligent explanation of things otherwise inexplicable.

In the matter of ancestry we come to a story not yet told in any biography of Gould which we have seen. It was in accord with the character of the man never to give out the least hint of his antecedents, however honorable they may have been. Even Murat Halstead's "Life of Jay Gould," published in 1892 (a crude, cheap volume of doubtful value), dismisses the question of ancestry in this unsatisfactory fashion: "Roxbury was but an insignificant village in the Catskill County region. The Goulds had moved there not long after the Revolutionary War, and Jay's father, John B. Gould, was the first white male child born in the County." Who would imagine from this that Mr. Gould was descended from several lines of Puritan gentlemen who figured prominently in the early history of Massachusetts and Connecticut?

Mr. Charles Burr Todd, historian and genealogist, describes the Gould or Gold family as "one of the most eminent and notable families of New England." Its founder, Major Nathan Gold, about 1646 came from St. Edmondsbury, in Southern England, to Fairfield, Connecticut, where he was one of the foremost citizens. He was one of the nineteen signers of the petition for the Charter of Connecticut in 1624, "which petition was only signed by gentlemen who had sus-

¹"History of the Burr Family," by Charles Burr Todd, New York, 1891.

tained a high reputation in England, before coming to this country." Between 1657 and 1694 (the time of his death), he was also a member of the Connecticut Council, answering to the present State Senator. "His son, Nathan Gold, Jr.," says Mr. Todd, "was even more prominent in public life." He was town clerk of Fairfield from 1684 to 1726, Deputy Governor of Connecticut between 1706 and 1724, and became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1712. His wife was a daughter of Lieut-Colonel John Talcott, of Hartford. Their fourth son, Samuel Gold, was born Dec. 27, 1692, and on Dec. 1, 1716, was married to Esther Bradley "of an excellent Fairfield family." Two of their children, Captain Abel and Colonel Abraham Gold, were Revolutionary soldiers. The latter, in the direct line of descent, deserves more than a mere passing mention. He was born May 10, 1732, and on New Year's Day of 1754 was married to Elizabeth Burr.

We must pause here to indicate another line, the Burr family, which has had many notable representatives. Perhaps the best known was the famous Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States. This family boasts an ancestry extending back to Baldwin de Bures, of Suffolk County, England, whom we find mentioned as early as 1193, in the time of Richard I. A little later appears Sir Robert de Bures of Acton Hall, Knight Templar of Jerusalem. He was one of the Barons, "a noted man in his day." He held various important positions in Suffolk County, and in 1324 was one of the Council convened by the Barons at Westminster to take steps

toward the deposition of Edward II. Three years later this act was consummated. Sir Robert was buried in 1331 at Acton, where "there is a magnificent brass to his memory, representing him in full armor, the rampant lions on his shield, and with crossed legs, the mark of the crusader. This brass is considered by archæologists as the most perfect and splendid specimen of its date in all England."

The founder of the family in America was John Burr, who came over with Governor Winthrop in 1630. He settled first in Roxbury, but was one of eight, including the Honorable William Pynchon, who in 1636 journeyed through the wilderness of Massachusetts and founded the City of Springfield. He was the first collector of taxes in this community. Eight years later he made one more removal to Fairfield, Conn., which town he represented in the General Court in 1645 and 1646. His son, Nathaniel, held various offices in Fairfield, and had a son in turn, Colonel John, born in May, 1673, concerning whom, Mr. Todd says: "Of the earlier members of the family, none seem so intimately connected with the present generation as does Col. Burr. Old men still point out the limits of his farm, the site of his house, and of the old oak under which he bought his lands of the Indian Sagamores." Col. John Burr was in truth one of the largest land holders in the State. During Queen Ann's War he held the important office of Commissary for his County. He was a Deputy in the Connecticut House almost continuously from 1704 to 1724, and during much of this time served as Speaker. For

two terms he was Auditor, and continuously between 1729 and 1742 was Assistant (Senator.) He was Judge both of the County Court and the Probate Court from 1729 to 1743. On May 10, 1733, he was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Chancery. He also served as Major of the Connecticut forces that participated in the brilliant capture of Port Royal from the French in 1710. The eldest son of this man, Captain John, baptized Aug. 28, 1698, was the father of Elizabeth Burr.

Thus briefly we have the two distinguished lines which were united in the marriage of Colonel Abraham Gold (Gould) and Elizabeth Burr, the great-grandparents of Jay Gould. During the days of Colonel Abraham the name began to be written, in his branch of the family at least, as "Gould" instead of Gold, and thus it appears five times on a stone erected in Fairfield Cemetery in memory of the Colonel and three of his brothers. Whether "Gold" was the original spelling is, however, a question. It is true that the American branch of the family adopted this in early Colonial days. But the older records of the various family lines in England reveal a strong competition between the two spellings. Perhaps the change to "Gould" at Fairfield, about the time of the Revolution, was adopted as a correction by the family

on account of information received from England. Colonel Abraham Gould was one of the martyrs of the Revolution. By Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, he was commissioned Colonel of the Fifth Regiment, a troop of Fairfield County; and in April, 1777, he was killed at the head of his men in a fierce hand-to-hand street fight in the village of Ridgefield, while unsuccessfully attempting to check the advance of the British under Gen. Tryon. His widow, Mr. Todd tells us, "received the bloody corpse of her husband with Spartan calmness and fortitude; she laid away the sword and raiment as precious relics for his children and posterity, and took up the burdens of life with courage, patience and resignation."

The sword of Abraham Gould, stained with British blood, is still preserved and is in the possession of Mr. Abraham Gould Jennings, of Brooklyn. Abraham Gould, namesake and fourth child of the patriot, removed early in life to the then wilderness of Delaware county, New York. From this point we have the facts from the pen of Jay Gould himself, as narrated in his famous "History of Delaware County." He tells us that "in 1789, a company consisting of twenty heads of families and two single men, principally from Fairfield county, Connecticut, came into Delaware to examine the country, and fix upon a favorable situation for a permanent settlement." One of the heads of families was

Capt. Abraham Gould, who established himself in what



SWORD OF COLONEL ABRAHAM GOULD.

NOTE. The inscription on the hilt is: "The sword used by Col. Abraham Gould, of Fairfield, Conn., who was killed on his horse by the British, at Ridgefield, Conn., April 27th, 1777. The sword was found stained with the enemy's blood."

was known as the West Settlement. The interesting story of those pioneer days as told by the youthful historian, Jay Gould, must be passed over. Capt. Abraham's oldest son, John Burr Gould, father of Jay, enjoyed the distinction of being the first male white child born in the town of Roxbury. He married Mary More, granddaughter of John More, a Scotchman, who came from Ayrshire, in 1772.

Jay (or Jason) Gould, born May 27, 1836, was the eldest son, although the sixth child, of John B. Gould and Mary More. His father was a man of unusual force of character; well-read, although self-educated; quite an authority on the subject of history, his favorite study; and ambitious to give his children all the educational advantages he could. These advantages were not extraordinary, however, although we find the boy Jay making the most of them. Beginning school-life at the age of five, the youth finished his education (so far as schools were concerned) when but sixteen. In early years he attended the ordinary district schools. During the famous Anti-Rent difficulties he went to Beechwood Seminary, a school offering special advantages, which had been built by Mr. John B. Gould and several neighbors. Later on, for two terms, he attended Hobart Seminary, eight miles from home, and usually walked this distance at the end of each school week. He earned his own board by keeping the books of the blacksmith with whom he stayed. After this experience he returned to Beechwood and there finished his education.

With these school days in Delaware County begins the misrepresentation

and misunderstanding of his character which followed Jay Gould throughout all his after life. Says Murat Halstead: "He had disliked even the customary sports of the people around him; he was different from any other boys in the village school in which he got the rudiments of his education. He was not what was generally termed a manly boy. He did not participate in the rough-natured games of his school-mates, and preferred to remain in-doors and at recess time to cuddle up in some remote corner of the schoolhouse, busy with his own thoughts and his own plans and hopes for the future. When approached by his schoolmates to come and join a game, he declined all invitations. If bantered or teased by the boys, he would break away in tearful anger and make a complaint to the schoolmaster, who would thrash his tormenters, much to the relief of little Jason."

With all due respect to Mr. Halstead, we must say that all this is an evident creation of some one's imagination who felt it incumbent to invent a childhood typical of the strange character he thought to be the man. As for fact, there is very little here. We appeal to the testimony of James Oliver, one of Gould's early teachers, who, "from knowledge acquired by companionship during two and a half years, and from letters now in my possession dating of a period of four and a half years, or concerning a period in his life from the age of thirteen to twenty," says:

"Entering the school under the writer's care at the age of thirteen with a fair knowledge of the rudiments, by application, acute percep-

tion, retentive memory, and accuracy of reasoning beyond his years, he closed his school life at the age of sixteen with a sufficient knowledge of history, science, mathematics and methods of study, to enable him to read intelligently, and pursue such studies as opportunity might afford, taste dictate, or the exigencies of business require. . . . It has been said that he was not what may be called a 'manly boy,' that he refused to join his companions in boisterous sports, and that upon being good naturedly importuned, he would cry, slink away and mope, and upon the opening of the school would appeal to the teacher for redress, and then exult at the punishment that would fall upon his tormenters. This would not apply to the Jay Gould of the writer's acquaintance. It is true that he was not fond of rude sports and would devote the time of play to study or reading. But he was always friendly with the boys, forming many lasting friendships, and his mental and moral fibre were such that it would have been impossible for him to appeal to a teacher against a school-fellow. His self-reliance and self-respect would have revolted against such a proceeding."

Although his school days ended at this early age he had an intense longing for a more liberal education. Under the date of August 2, of the year he left school, he writes from Rosendale, where he is busy surveying for a map: "But to speak of school seems to fire every feeling in my soul. It tells me that while my schoolmates are boldly advancing step by step, up the ladder of learning, I have to hold fast to keep myself upon the same

round." Under date of December of the same year: "For the plain truth is I am growing old too fast; my years are getting the advance of what of all things I value most, an education. There is something in the idea of possessing a refined and cultivated mind; of its noble and mighty influence, controlling the human destiny in yielding happiness and enjoyment to its possessor, and placing him where he is capable of speaking and acting for himself without being bargained away and deceived by his more enlightened brothers;—something in the thought, I say, that is calculated to awaken and nourish resolutions that are worthy of a home in the human breast."

Is there nothing remarkable in such sentiments from a lad of sixteen or seventeen? Is there no refutation in them of the unworthy thought that would make him out an unmanly boy, a tell-tale and a sneak? Indeed the very proofs of his manhood,—the desire of obtaining an education so great as to make him willing even to "devote the time of play to study or reading,"—this which places his school days unequivocally alongside those of Lincoln, Garfield and other self-made men of genius—has been placed in the balance against him instead of in his favor. In every other case it has been the special pride of the biographer that his hero was precocious, studious, and unlike other boys, fore-shadowing in youth the genius of the man. But in the case of Jay Gould all this is changed. And why? Simply because the biographer, having a total misapprehension of the man, comes with a pre-conceived idea of what, correspond-

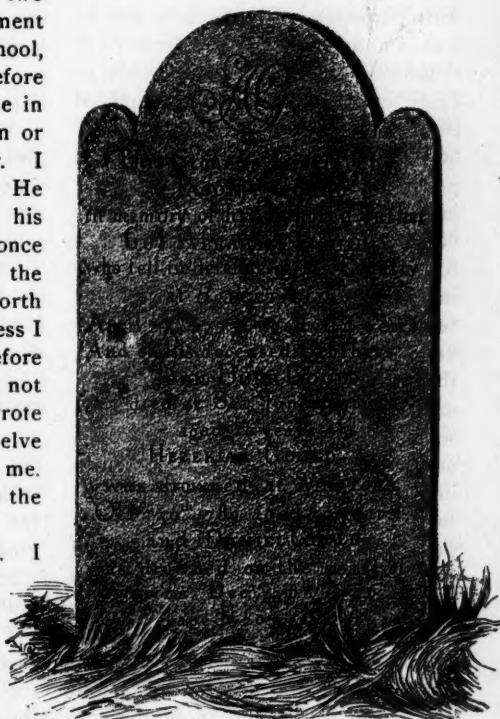
ingly, the boy ought to be. This does not necessarily prove the dishonesty of the biographer; but it argues his blindness, his acquiescence in the mistaken judgment of his generation.

Desiring another competent witness on this point, and one whose testimony might be estimated by personal knowledge of the testator, the writer recently communicated with Mr. John Burroughs, the delightful author and keen observer, too, of nature and men. His reply furnishes an interesting bit of reminiscence:

"Yes, Jay Gould and I were schoolmates. Our father's farms were about one mile apart. I remember being at school with him only two seasons — in the West Settlement School. The Beechwood School, which I did not attend, was before that. Jay's seat was behind mine in the school. He was then fourteen or fifteen. I was a little younger. I never helped him to do his sums. He was in advance of me in all his studies. But he helped me out once on a composition. The edict of the master, James Oliver, had gone forth that I must stay after school unless I handed in my composition before four o'clock. My wits would not work. Jay seeing my dilemma wrote a bit of doggerel on his slate (twelve lines) and pushed it slyly over to me. I copied it, and so went forth with the rest at close of school.

"Jay was a very bright student. I do not think he was an 'unmanly boy.' He seldom engaged in the sports of the school, because he was proud and exclusive, and would not put himself on an equal with the other boys. One winter the boys were seized

with the wrestling craze. It was all the rage at recess and noon-time. Jay would wrestle with no boy but me. He and I wrestled by the hour. He was very plucky and hard to beat. He was made of steel and rubber. I frequently went home with him and stayed all night, but he would never go home with me. I think Jay and I were at school together in '50 and '51. I do not believe that Murat Halstead's account is true, tho' Jay may have been like this when younger. A near neighbor and schoolmate of his was Andrew Corbin, now of Bloomville, N. Y. He knew him earlier and longer than I did."



TOMBSTONE OF COLONEL ABRAHAM GOULD
FAIRFIELD CEMETERY, CONN.

Following the hint here given the writer applied to Mr. Andrew J. Corbin, from whom he received a further testimony which corroborates in a marked degree many of the points mentioned by Mr. Burroughs. Mr. Corbin writes: "In the early days of Jay Gould I was almost his constant companion. Our father's farms were adjoining. We attended Hobart Seminary together, rooming and sleeping together, for two terms, after which we attended a private school, known as Beechwood Seminary, organized and built on my father's farm, principally by my father and John B. Gould, the father of Jay. At this school Jay Gould's education was completed. In his early life he was in a measure different from boys in general, in that he did not seem to enter into the sports and games of the ordinary school-boy. The game of ball, which has always been most prominent with boys, he did not enter into with the same spirit as other boys. In truth he could not play ball, and was far behind in running races, etc. The amusement which he seemed to enjoy most was riding down hill. He had the best sled in the district—which met an unfortunate end as follows: Jay's father had some young colts on the farm. On our way home from school one evening, we conceived the idea of harnessing one of the colts to this sled. We put thills on the sled and succeeded in hitching the colt. The animal went a short distance, then began kicking, and finally ran away, completely demolishing the sled. Jay mourned sincerely over the sled, declaring that he would never get another which would run with this one.

"Another incident of Jay's early days is interesting as illustrating a tendency characteristic of him throughout his after life. India rubber, then for the first time seen by us boys, and used for erasing lead pencil marks, all at once became a mania with us. It was a scarce article in our boy market, and few could secure a bit of the coveted treasure. At this juncture, from an uncle who had the remnant of a pair of rubber shoes (the first I had ever seen), I came into possession of the largest piece of rubber among us. I carried my prize to school one morning, where Jay at once proposed a deal for its possession. So bent was he upon becoming the owner and sole proprietor of the largest piece of rubber in school, that he went home at noon time, three quarters of a mile, and secured the necessary funds. After enjoying the pleasure of ownership for a short time, he cut the piece into bits and was ready to supply the market with rubber at reduced prices.

"I cannot agree with Murat Halstead's 'Life of Jay Gould,' as to the latter's manliness. He was always a manly boy, but quiet and more manly than boys in general. He was never strong, and to this I have always attributed his not entering into the sports common to school-boys with as much spirit as other boys. He was early in life a great student, greatly devoted to books, rather exclusively inclined, good natured and quite fond of a joke."

These testimonies are verified in every respect by the statements of those most intimately associated with the boy-life of Jay Gould. Personal corroboration has come down to the

writer through his own family, which settled in Roxbury about the same time as the Goulds. We find the school-boy briefly characterized as "a great favorite at home, always on the best of terms with his companions, active and fond of some out-door sports, although often preferring to read or study at his favorite mathematics; quiet in his manner, but fond of fun; a great tease; rather frail for the necessary farm duties, and always with a distaste for the work of the farm." A final illustration of the character and thoughts of the boy is found in the remarkable composition which he prepared in school, on April 9, 1850, when less than fourteen years of age. It reads:

HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY.

"By this proposition we mean that to be honest, to think honest, and to have all our actions honestly performed is the best way, and most accords with the precepts of reason. Honesty is of a self-denying nature; to become honest it requires self-denial; it requires that we should not acquaint ourselves too much with the world; that we also should not associate with those of vulgar habits; also that we should obey the warnings of conscience.

"If we are about to perform a dishonest act, the warnings of conscience exert their utmost influence to persuade us that it is wrong, and we should not do it, and after we have performed the act, this faithful agent upbraids us for it; this voice of conscience is not the voice of thunder, but a voice gentle and impressive; it does not force us to comply with its requests, while at the same time it

reasons with us and brings forth arguments in favor of right.

"Since no theory of reason can be sustained without illustration, it will not be unbecoming for us to cite one of the many instances that have occurred, whose names stand high upon the scroll of fame, and whose names are recorded on the pages of history —George Washington, the man 'who never told a lie in all his life.'

"In youth he subdued his idle passions, cherished truth, obeyed the teachings of conscience, and 'never told a lie.' An anecdote which is much related, and which occurred when he was a boy goes to show his sincerity. Alexander Pope, in his 'Essay on Man,' says 'An honest man is the noblest work of God.'

"And again we find numerous passages in the Scriptures which have an immediate connection to this, and summing up the whole we cannot but say: 'Honesty is the best policy.'"

The first serious work of Gould's life, as a surveyor, map-maker and historian, has been frequently described. In the winter of 1851, in order to furnish his son with an opportunity for business training, Jay's father exchanged his farm for a hardware store in the village of Roxbury. Here the young man was installed as clerk, soon becoming a partner and chief manager of the business. At the same time he began the study of surveying, using the instruments of Squire Burhaus, one of the principal men of the village. In the spring of 1852 he engaged with one John J. Snyder, at a salary of twenty dollars a month, to survey Ulster county with a view to publishing a map. The threatened disastrous outcome of the



FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING OF ORIGINAL MAP.

summer's work was described by Gould in a letter to a friend written that fall. "Mr. Snyder could not support the expense of the survey, and the whole concern was likely to fall to the ground, when Mr. Brink, the other gentleman surveying, and myself, stepped in and took the responsibility of completing the work. We quickly found another partner, a Mr. Tillson, of Rosendale."

Gould afterward sold out to these partners his own interest and entered their employ at a salary of thirty dollars a month. By this cautious move, as he wrote at the time, he had a "chance of observing without risk whether it is a business that will warrant a safe employment to those who would make a little money." The venture proved successful, however, and upon the strength of it, on his own account, between 1853 and 1856 Gould surveyed and published maps of the town of Cohoes, and of Albany, Sullivan and Delaware counties. During the same period he also had charge of expeditions for the survey of counties in Ohio and Michigan, and surveyed for a railway between Newbury and Syracuse, and for the Albany and Muscayuna Plank Road.

Contemporaneous with the survey of Delaware, he also carefully collected data for a history of the county. The manuscript for this he sent to his publisher in Philadelphia, along with the map. The calamity which befell him at this juncture is best told in his own brave words to his old school teacher, written under date of April 29, 1856: "I am under the unpleasant necessity of informing you of the total destruction by fire of my history of Delaware county.

. . . I shall leave for Philadelphia in the morning to ascertain the exact state of affairs. If nothing less can be done, I shall set myself hard at work to re-write it. As you know, I am not in the habit of backing out of what I undertake, and shall write night and day until it is completed." A few proof sheets of the book escaped the fire, while portions from it had been published from advance sheets in the "Bloomville Mirror." But the greater part had to be re-written, mainly from memory. And yet young Gould accomplished this difficult task in a phenomenally short space of time, by "night and day," as he had said, so that the book was issued from the press in September, 1856. In fact, the vast amount of work which had been crowded into these few years since leaving school seems utterly impossible, looking back upon it, for any one human being, and especially so when we learn that during this time Gould was twice seriously sick. He was once prostrated by typhoid fever and once by pneumonia.

What he did was accomplished by consummate industry. The young man slept only three to five hours out of the twenty-four, and taxed his energies to the utmost while awake.

A description of Gould's famous "History of Delaware County" cannot be given here. It must suffice to say that it is a truly remarkable work, worthy the pen of any author, at the age of twenty. There is no particular attempt at literary polish; the style is straightforward and sincere, and bears the unmistakable stamp of true genius. It might be said here, that a literary life was the

dream of Gould's early years, but that he drifted into a business career, under the conviction that he did not possess sufficient education for the kind of literary achievement he aspired to. As for the story frequently met that in later life he attempted to buy up the entire edition of the "His-

had become interested with a Mr. Zadoc Pratt, of Prattsville, N. Y., in the tannery business. As soon as the book was off his hands, he hastened to the wilds of Western Pennsylvania and founded the town of Gouldsboro, named after himself. In his own language, "It was right in the woods, fifteen miles from any place. I went in there and chopped down the first tree. We had a portable saw-mill, and we sawed the tree up, and that day we built a blacksmith's shop out of the timber. I slept in it that night, on a bed made of hemlock boughs. We went on and built the tannery. It was a very large one, the largest in the country at that time." Gould developed the new town in a phenomenal manner. He built a plank road, organized a stage route, erected a school-house, and secured postal facilities, himself becoming postmaster.

The Gouldsboro business eventually involved Mr. Gould in a sensational affair which was made the foundation of the first serious assault upon his character. These old charges are frequently reiterated to this day, in the face of overwhelming proofs to the contrary. The account of this episode to follow, it is believed, is the only one in print in any degree approaching the truth, if we except Mr. Gould's own account of the trouble.

Mr. Gould presently bought out his partner, Mr. Pratt, and formed an alliance with the New York leather firm of Charles M. Leupp & Co. The final adjustment was in the nature of a three-sided partnership, with Mr. C. M. Leupp and Mr. D. W. Lee, as silent partners. The firm style of "Jay

HISTORY

DELAWARE COUNTY,

AND

Border Wars of New York.

CONTAINING

A SKETCH OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN THE COUNTY,

AND

A HISTORY OF THE.

LATE ANTI-BENT DIFFICULTIES IN DELAWARE

WITH

Other Historical and Miscellaneous Matter,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

BY JAY GOULD.

BOXBURY:

KEENEY & GOULD, PUBLISHERS.

1856.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE PAGE.

tory," so as to withdraw it from the public eye, there is absolutely no foundation for it. On the contrary, he was always rather proud of the book, as indeed he must needs have been.

While preparing his history, Gould

Gould & Co." was adopted. Mr. Gould was the only visible member of this company. The connection of the New York partners, at their suggestion, was kept secret. The details of this arrangement are better left to the description of Mr. Gould himself, a little further on.

The tannery was merely one of many interests at Gouldsboro. Mills had been built and various enterprises established peculiar to the development of a new country. Under Mr. Gould, Mr. J. A. Dubois (now dead) acted as a sort of general superintendent or supervisor of the diverse interests. In Gould's absence, Dubois assumed the management.

Mr. Abraham Steers, in turn, would naturally be classed as the third in control, although he enjoyed the special confidential relation of a sort of private secretary and business correspondent to Gould. He had Gould's full confidence so far as all business transactions were concerned. He opened all letters in Gould's absence, and in cases of importance either forwarded them or sent a brief of their contents. Mr. Steers was thus thoroughly conversant with every detail of the business. He had access to the books of the firm, and during a part of the time himself kept them. He and Mr. Dubois were the only men under Gould who carried keys to the company's safe in the tannery office. In the absence of both Gould and Dubois, Mr. Steers became the general manager in charge.

There was another man named Garrison who might be described as the overseer or working "boss" of the men in the tannery, but who had no part in transacting the Company's business.

On the evening of October 5, 1859, Mr. Charles M. Leupp, senior partner in the firm of "Jay Gould & Co." committed suicide at his home in New York City. Indications of insanity had appeared a year previous, and had gradually fixed themselves upon the unfortunate man. This sad occurrence had no direct connection with the business at Gouldsboro, but it was afterwards dragged into the stories set afloat, and so is introduced here.

The other partner, Mr. D. Williamson Lee, was the brother-in-law of the suicide. In his own right, and as representing Mr. Leupp's heirs, Lee now controlled, nominally, a two-third interest in the Gouldsboro business, although, as we learn from Gould's statement hereafter, this claim was swallowed up by the indebtedness of the New York House to Gould. After the death of Mr. Leupp, Gould made frequent requests for a statement and settlement of the accounts between the two firms. For some inexplicable reason this was denied by Lee on one pretext and another. Gould became alarmed, suspecting the insolvency of Leupp & Co., while Lee in turn appears to have conceived the plan of a high-handed movement against Gould with a view to freezing him out of the Gouldsboro business.

With a young countryman from the interior of New York not yet twenty-four years of age to deal with this should have been an easy task for the experienced New York merchant. But if Lee thought so, he reckoned without his host. If there was any lack of sophistication on Gould's part, inherent genius fully compensated for

it. The frail frame of that modest but self-reliant young partner concealed one of the greatest generals of modern times—one who could match maneuvre with maneuvre and oppose strategy to strategy with a rapidity and brilliancy of execution which left the ablest opponent helpless and bewildered.

In his opportunity for a settlement Gould called upon Lee a number of times at the merchant's New York office. In the latter part of February, 1860, Lee at length agreed to go over the accounts, and suggested that Gould send to Gouldsboro for Superintendent Dubois. Gould did so, whereupon, keeping both men in the city by the trick of a false appointment, and putting forth the plea of sickness to account for his non-appearance, Lee hurried into Pennsylvania.

During the absence of Dubois, Mr. Steers was very much surprised one afternoon to see Mr. Lee walk into the tannery office at Gouldsboro, accompanied by several gentlemen. Lee at once conferred with Garrison, the tannery foreman. Immediately thereafter he inquired for Steers. Taking him aside he began to flatter him declaring that he had heard in New York of the young man's ability and faithfulness and intended at once to see what could be done to advance him. Mr. Steers was somewhat dazed by this strange effusion of gratitude from a person he had never seen before, yet he did not for a moment suspect that anything was wrong.

Mr. Lee asked for the key of the safe, but this Steers declined to surrender, stating that his explicit instructions did not permit him to give it up

to any one except on Mr. Gould's order. Thereupon Garrison, the tannery boss, was dispatched to the wife of Mr. Dubois with a request for the Superintendent's key. Having no suspicion of Garrison, Mrs. Dubois gave it up. By means of this key, thus obtained, Lee effected an entrance into the Company's safe about sundown.

It should be said that from Lee's first appearance in Gouldsboro, Garrison intelligently co-operated with him, being evidently forewarned and one of the conspirators. An intimate associate of Garrison afterwards declared that the overseer had received either \$1,000 or \$2,000 from Lee for his services.

On the evening of the day of his arrival, before the tannery workmen separated for their homes, Lee appointed a special meeting for that night in the tannery office, when he announced he would make some important statements to the men. At the meeting thus assembled a lengthy paper was read, made up of charges against Gould. In this document Lee claimed to be the real proprietor of the Gouldsboro enterprise, and accused Gould of mismanagement, of refusing to render any account of the business, and of keeping the Company's books in an undecipherable fashion only understood by himself. Lee affirmed that \$25,000 had been sent from New York to be applied to the debts of the firm, and that Gould had misappropriated this money and refused to render any account for it.

All this was set forth with a considerable flourish, and at great length. Lee announced that he, as the rightful owner, had come to take possess-

ion of his own, and to straighten out the tangle Gould had brought the business into. He exhorted the men to be true to him in the matter, and intimated that it would be to their interest to do so, as he had come to inaugurate better times for all.

At the conclusion of this startling harangue an invitation to speak was extended to any one who had ought to answer to the charges made. Young Steers made the grave mistake of accepting this invitation in good faith. He supposed Mr. Gould's partner to be laboring, in some degree at least, under a delusion, and he undertook to enlighten him. Had he fathomed the real enormity and audacity of Mr. Lee's scheme he might have been more discreet.

However, he stepped upon a bundle of hides and undertook to reply. He stated that no such sum as \$25,000 had been received from New York for any purpose; that \$1,000 had been received and that Mr. Lee, if he cared to look, would find this sum in the safe. He challenged Lee to examine the file of his own letters in the office and see just what had been sent. He also invited them to examine the books if they thought the accounts undecipherable or crooked in any way. He further stated that if anything was wrong, either with the accounts or the correspondence of Mr. Gould, that he, Steers, and not Gould, was to blame, as the one having them in charge.

But this sort of thing was evidently not laid down in Mr. Lee's program. The young clerk, whom he had a few hours before so highly flattered, he now ordered thrown out of the tannery. This command was

obeyed quite literally. Several pair of rough hands at once laid hold of Mr. Steers and he was pitched out the door, his coat being torn off his back and his person receiving several painful bruises in the operation.

After this experience Steers warned the employees to have nothing to do with Lee. Most of them heeded the advice. A few others, the more rowdy element, imitated their foreman and cast in their lot with the conspirators. Garrison also induced a number of his cronies and relatives to join with him, while these forces were still further augmented by a company of armed constables from Scranton.

Such was the situation when Gould and Dubois returned to Gouldsboro. Gould based his subsequent course upon the advice of his friend and counsel, ex-Gov. Reeder, chief executive of Kansas during the famous Kansas-Nebraska agitation. Gould was universally popular among the sturdy countrymen round about Gouldsboro. His operations in the development of the country had made him their benefactor. Assembling from every direction they volunteered their assistance. Gould organized a company of about fifty young men and moved on the tannery. The defenders, most of them cowards at heart, and half of them full of whiskey, were sadly demoralized at the outset. A number of them had revolvers, and began firing among themselves, wildly and at random. Several of them were wounded, but they afterward acknowledged that every wound suffered on their side, was inflicted by their own frightened men. Gould led his men in person, forced an entrance, and very soon was in possession of the tannery.

From the time of its occurrence to the present, this unfortunate affair has been made to do service in innumerable attacks upon Mr. Gould. Murat Halstead's book, already noticed, makes it the vehicle for one of the most outrageous slanders ever suffered by an innocent man. Under such circumstances the claims of justice compel us, even at the risk of being tedious, to sift the matter to the bottom. Both principals in the trouble made public statements at the time. That of Mr. Lee was published in the Wilkesbarre (Pa.) "Union," for March 14, 1860, and reprinted in the New York "Herald" three days later. We give it here entire:

"All the hides in the Gouldsboro tannery with the exception of two thousand belonging to J. B. Alley, of Boston, were owned by the firm of Charles M. Leupp & Co., of New York, of which I am the surviving partner. Two-thirds of the real estate also belonged to Charles M. Leupp & Co., their interest in which I also represented. On my arrival at Gouldsboro on the 29th of February last, quiet possession was taken by me of the tannery and its contents, together with the horses, office, books and accounts, bark, wood, etc., and I remained in quiet possession until Tuesday, the Sixth of March, when I was forcibly ejected by an armed mob. Mr. Garrison, foreman of the tannery, and who may be supposed to have known who were the owners and his employers, on my arrival took my orders and proceeded to execute them as a matter of course, beginning at once to raise from the vats about seven thousand sides of leather, which

after being partially dried and prepared for market, had been, by the orders from New York of Mr. Gould, thrown back into the vats, to the injury of the leather, the delay of its manufacture, and the damage of the business of my firm. This act of bad faith on Mr. Gould's part, combined with the fact of utter neglect of the business of the tannery—he not having been there for a period of over five months, and the people employed being unpaid by him and mutinous, were reasons compelling me to take possession of the tannery for the protection of my own property and that of others committed to my charge. The fact of my quiet possession was evident from my making up the accounts, paying arrearages, procuring supplies for horses and men, and being at the office daily to attend to the general business of the concern.

"Mr. C. C. Niebuhr, of New York, having charge of a portion of the business of Charles M. Leupp & Co., having been there for a month previously to watch over their interests, was also at the office daily, to attend to any business which it might be necessary to transact. Mr. Gould arrived at the tannery on the evening of Saturday, March 3, and was at once notified by me accompanied by Mr. Niebuhr, that I was in quiet possession, and that no other party could obtain possession except by the usual process of law. As it was evident from various circumstances that an attempt to take the tannery by force would be made by Mr. Gould, twelve or fifteen men, in addition to our own, were employed in guarding it—the operations of the business being steadily continued. We remained

in the tannery all Sunday night, and seeing on Monday that an attack was inevitable, I sent to Scranton for assistance to aid in repelling it. We remained in the tannery all Monday night. About two o'clock on Tuesday morning we were joined by ten men from Scranton, who, with one or two exceptions, were armed with revolvers. With this addition to our numbers, especially considering their weapons, we expected to be able to hold the tannery against a considerable force. About ten and a half o'clock on Tuesday morning the lock was wrenched from the stable, the men having been concentrated into the tannery, and the stable being unguarded. A little past twelve the tannery itself was attacked by a mob, variously estimated at from 180 to 250 men, armed with axes, muskets, rifles and other weapons. Without a demand of possession or summons to surrender, the doors were beaten in, and but a few blows had been struck by the assailants before they began to fire ball and buck shot through the building, raking it in every direction. For reasons best known to themselves, the gentlemen from Scranton did not appear at all on the scene of action, and though as vigorous a defense was made by a force of fifteen men in the story attacked with tannery sticks, stones and four revolvers, as was possible against such overwhelming odds, the tannery was finally carried on all sides, and those who did not escape were violently flung from the windows and doors, whilst the assailants rushed through the building, yelling like Indians, pursuing the fugitives with their guns in every direction. In

the action many contusions were received and four gun-shot wounds, and had it not been for the large number of sides of leather hung up in the lofts, very few of the defending party would have escaped without wounds."

Mr. Gould's statement appeared a week later in the "Union" for March 21, and was reprinted in the "Herald," on March 23. It is of considerable length, but it is interesting and serves to throw a flood of light upon the whole subject. It begins:

"On the 28th of January, 1859, I sold to Charles M. Leupp and D. W. Lee one-third each of the Gouldsboro tannery, I, however, to be the acting and sole known partner, for which service Charles M. Leupp and D. W. Lee each agreed to pay me a fixed sum. The objects of putting the affairs of the Gouldsboro tannery in this shape, Mr. Leupp informed me at the time were two-fold: First, to make two-name paper, and second, that they feared a knowledge that they were directly interested in manufacturing would affect the standing of their paper in market. At the time of the sale referred to above, or subsequently, I was upon Leupp & Co.'s paper for upwards of \$100,000. I did this upon the assurance of Mr. Leupp that I should always have sufficient leather and hides belonging to them in my possession to cover the amount of such endorsements, and in addition to which they were owing me a large sum of money by virtue of which I held a lien upon the leather belonging to Leupp & Co., in the Gouldsboro tannery.

"Mr. Leupp committed suicide on

the 6th of October, dissolving the firm of Leupp & Co., and consequently they bought no new hides, and the leather becoming tanned and sent away from the tannery, my collateral security, of course, grew less and less. This state of facts, coupled with grave doubts as to the solvency of the firm, induced me to call upon Mr. Lee and request a statement of the affairs of the house, which he politely declined to do, giving as a reason that other parties had made the same request, which he had declined, and that no party had a right to make such request until Leupp & Co. had gone to protest.

"On the 19th and 28th of December last, I repurchased of Mr. Lee, (who represented himself as acting not only for himself, but with an unconditional authority from the representative of the other interest,) their entire interest in the establishment and personal property, and have continued uniformly to act in good faith, relying upon said purchase with, as I supposed, the full sanction and concurrence of Mr. Lee and those for whom he acted, and as an evidence have several letters from him confirming my conviction that he did so think.

"I continued to send in the leather slowly until the quantity in my possession ran considerably below the amount for which I was upon their paper, to say nothing of my own claims. I kept constantly urging a settlement of our affairs, which upon various pretexts was delayed. As many as two or three definite appointments were made by me with Mr. Lee for such purpose. The first time he apologized for want of time,

to which I promptly responded that I would furnish a book-keeper at my own expense, to which he replied that he did not care to have a stranger look over their books, and the last time, in the presence of a witness he declined to furnish the accounts at all.

"Under this state of facts, my attorney, Hon A. H. Reeder, addressed them a letter, recapitulating in substance the above facts, at the close of which he says: 'Under these circumstances it appears to me that the firm of Jay Gould ought by all means to withhold from them the leather, unless this account is satisfactorily adjusted,' and until otherwise convinced I shall act upon that opinion.

"Mr. Lee made a definite appointment to make up the accounts and have them ready by Saturday, February 25. I wrote to my agent at Gouldsboro to come down to New York. Mr. Dubois came down on Monday, and on Tuesday, we called upon Mr. Lee. The account had not been made out as agreed, and Mr. Lee, in the presence of Mr. Dubois, declined to make it out at all, but afterwards desired us to see him the following day. My agent remained over in the city on the 29th, agreeably to appointment, and word was given out that Mr. Lee was unwell.

"Instead of meeting us, however, on Wednesday, and instead of being sick, Mr. Lee came out to Gouldsboro on that day (leaving the inference that the appointment was only a ruse to effect our absence, and thereby enable him to effect his purpose and succeed in getting possession of a small portion of the property, if, indeed, it could be called any possession at all).

"As soon as I received notice of the above facts, I immediately came to Pennsylvania and submitted my papers and my rights to eminent counsel, under whose instructions I acted.

"I arrived at Gouldsboro on Monday evening, March 5, and went down to the tannery, found it strongly barricaded and garrisoned by a force of armed men, variously estimated from thirty to forty strong, with a single opening large enough to pass in. I went in, and was immediately surrounded by a body of armed men, some ten or twelve in number, and my life threatened if I did not immediately withdraw. On Monday afternoon Mr. Lee dispatched a messenger to Scranton, to hire a body of fighting men, and his lawyer, Willard, who was the messenger, returned to Gouldsboro with them about one o'clock on Tuesday morning. The price paid or agreed to be paid these men, I am informed, varied from \$25 to \$50 for the occasion, and one gentlemen in Scranton informed me that he was offered \$100 to join the company, which he declined.

"About ten o'clock on Tuesday morning the citizens of the town and adjoining counties of Monroe and Wayne, commenced collecting until, as my opponents assert, there were two hundred to two hundred and fifty men. I mounted the steps of my office and addressed them briefly, stating the condition of matters—that I was surprised to see so large a body of volunteers collected, inasmuch as I had not hired or requested a single person to be present. After my closing address I demanded possession, which was refused. I then quietly

selected fifty men, commanding the reserve to keep aloof. I divided them into two companies, one of which I dispatched to the upper end of the building, directing them to take off the boards while I headed the other to open a large front door. I burst open the door and sprang in. I was immediately saluted with a shower of balls, forcing my men to retire; and I brought them up a second time, and we took a second full broad side compelling us a second time to fall back. Up to this time not a shot was fired nor a word spoken by one of my men—a third time and pressed them into the building, and by this time the company at the other end of the tannery had succeeded in effecting an entrance, and the firing now became general on all sides, and the bullets were whistling in every direction. After a hard contested struggle on both sides we became the victors, and our opponents went flying from the tannery, some of them making fearful leaps from the second story. The contest being over, I immediately called upon every man to desist, and quiet was once more restored, and I immediately threw the tannery open and set my men, who had been temporarily thrown out of employment to make room for the armed force of my opponents, at work. For whatever assistance I received I am indebted to the citizens of the neighborhood and adjoining counties, who volunteered their services, except, of course, my own men, who with one or two exceptions were with us; and I did not, as is well known, hire or solicit a single individual. Prior to the engagement, I used the most vigilant care to prevent the use of a sin-

gle drop of liquor by my men, as it is a well known fact that I neither use it myself nor countenance its use by others; and therefore imagine my surprise and astonishment when I was informed by the hotel proprietor at Gouldsboro that Mr. Lee had instructed him to give the outsiders all the liquor they could drink, and that many of them actually drank at his expense. I was myself unarmed, and so distinctly stated before the engagement; and never having owned, loaded or fired a pistol in my life, I did not think myself a dangerous opponent. The following correspondence may not be out of place at this time.

"NEW YORK, DEC. 12, 1859.

"MESSRS. CHAS. M. LEUPP & CO.:

"As you have been selling the leather manufactured by me at the Gouldsboro tannery, will you do me the kindness to say if I have not made the largest and generally larger gains and quicker time than any tanner who has tanned for your house for the past thirty years.

"JAY GOULD, 39 Spruce St."

"NEW YORK, Dec. 29, 1859.

"JAY GOULD, ESQ.:—We have your letter of the 12th inst., which would have received earlier attention, but for a pressure of business and a knowledge that you did not immediately require it. Since you have been tanning for our house, yours has been the quickest tannage which our books record, showing in one instance the unusual fact of a sale of all the leather before the maturity of the hide notes. The gains also have been large, ranging as high as eighty-six per cent. on Orinocos; and we are happy to be able to verify these facts

by the records, should you wish to look them over.

"CHAS. M. LEUPP & CO."

With these statements from both sides before us, let us turn to the marvelous version of the affair which Murat Halstead, in 1892, lays before us. He says :

"After a while Mr. Gould bought out his partner (Zadoc Pratt), obtained the needed funds from Charles M. Leupp, a hide and leather merchant of New York City. They formed a partnership. All went quietly for awhile, and then the daring ventures and schemes of Mr. Gould, the resident partner, attracted universal attention. This alarmed the New York house, which traded under the name of Leupp & Lee, and they sent their bookkeeper to investigate the affairs at the tannery.

"This excellent man could only report undecipherable accounts. He told his employers that he thought the tannery was badly involved, and that the New York house was probably in the same unfortunate plight.

"Young Gould had gone into speculations in hides and other tanneries, which might and might not have turned out well, but the old-fashioned notions of Mr. Leupp were shocked, and when he found that his partner had bought not only all the hides then in the market, but all that were to arrive in the ensuing six months, he literally lost his reason and shot himself after a stormy interview with Gould, who remained imperturbably cool and simply turned on his heel and left the office. Mr. Leupp lived in what was then called the Baretta Mansion, corner of twenty-fifth street and Madison Avenue, New York

City, which cost in low price time \$150,000 to build, and which was filled with costly furniture and rare products of pencil and chisel.

"On the death of their common partner, Gould and Lee made a dash for the property in Gouldsboro. Prior to the fatal shot, Gould had arranged with Congressman Alley, of Massachusetts, to take the works, and thus relieve Leupp & Lee; but the suicide of the senior partner stopped the consummation of this plan, and, Gould always insisted, stopped the way to a profitable continuance of the works. Both Gould and Lee were men of nerve, and both determined to get and hold the tannery. Lee reached it first and garrisoned it with the employees. Information was received that Gould intended to use force, and preparations were made to deceive and repel him."

Thus far we have the language of the author of the book, and the network of falsehoods and impossibilities here presented constitute one of the most outlandish fabrics which the unbridled imagination of man ever wove about an actual occurrence. Of course we recognize the improbability that Halstead's own pen indited the words, but he has made himself responsible for them and for everything else in the book. The account continues with extracts from the statements of Lee and Gould as they appear in the "Herald," copied from the

"Wilkesbarre Union." But even in making these quotations the author appears unable to deal honestly with the subject. He begins with the declaration that "The New York Herald of March 16th, 1860, thus describes the battle," and then intro-

duces a brief portion of Lee's statement, concealing the fact, however, that Lee, and not the "Herald" is the author. The account really appears in the "Herald" for March 17th, not 16th, but an inaccuracy of this sort is evidently a small matter to one accustomed to resort to such gross deceptions.

But not content with the presentation of Lee's statement as an impartial account by some "Herald" correspondent, our ingenious author even improves upon Lee's account with a cunning attempt to make it appear that Lee had only fifteen men, by the omission of all reference to the stampede of the Scranton hirings.

On the other side, from Gould's important statement only a meagre and distorted extract is allowed, describing the capture of the tannery. But even here also an important part is omitted, and the quotation patched up to conceal the fact. And this comprehends the entire reference to the Gouldsboro trouble as found in Halstead's "Life of Gould." The reference to the "Herald" shows that our author was familiar with the statements of both Lee and Gould. And yet he has deliberately concocted infamous slanders against Gould not hinted at in the evidence, even if one should accept Lee's statement *in toto*, and disregard altogether Gould's side of the story.

This romancer tells us that the trouble originated in "daring ventures and schemes" of speculation on Gould's part, which "attracted universal attention." If true, why did Lee omit all hint of such conduct in his statements, both before the tan-

ney men and in the "Wilkesbarre Union?" He stooped to manifestly untenable representations on both those occasions in order to find an excuse for his course. And yet did he wholly overlook a real reason, ready to hand, such as unauthorized speculations on Gould's part which threatened ruin to the firm? As a matter of fact, there is not the tiniest shred of foundation for this statement.

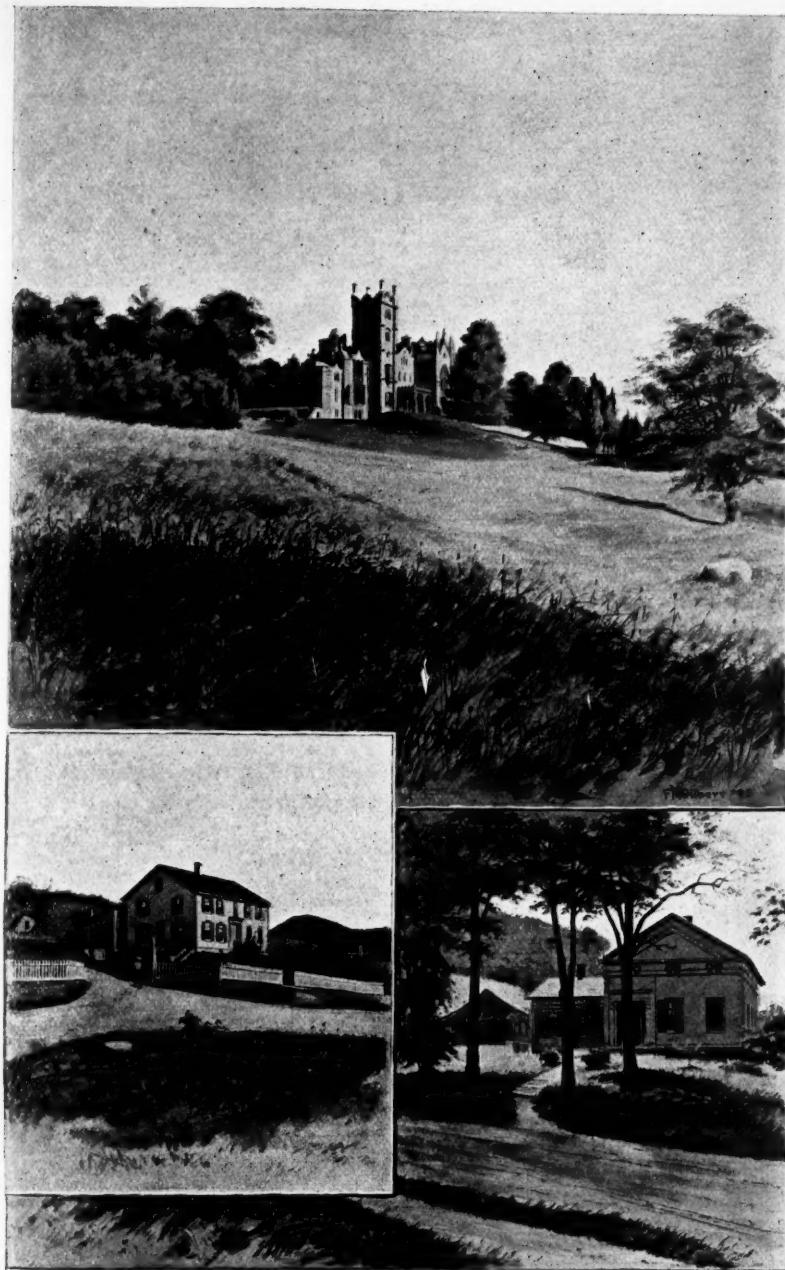
We next learn that the New York house was "alarmed," sent their book-keeper to "investigate," and that "this excellent man could only report undecipherable accounts." The man who kept Mr. Gould's books at Gouldsboro, and knew all about them, told the writer that this statement was one of the most bare-faced fabrications he ever encountered. There was no "undecipherable accounts," there was no "excellent man" sent on to investigate, and there was no report brought back by him that "the tannery was badly involved and that the New York house was probably in the same unfortunate plight." We have already seen how the scare-crow of "undecipherable accounts" was first introduced by Lee in his statement to the men at the night meeting in the tannery, and how the allegation was denied by one of the employees, who challenged to an examination of the books and was unceremoniously thrown out of the office for his pains. But how this skeleton was contrived to be resurrected for Halstead's book is a mystery.

But among the many wretched slanders manufactured in this connection, there is one which transcends

all others in infamy and atrocity. This Halstead gives to us in these words: "The old-fashioned notions of Mr. Leupp were shocked, and when he found that his partner had bought not only all the hides then in the market, but all that were to arrive in the ensuing six months, he literally lost his reason and shot himself after a stormy interview with Gould, who remained imperturbably cool and simply turned on his heel and left the office." This infamous lie simply hangs in mid-air, without a fact within sight to attach itself to.

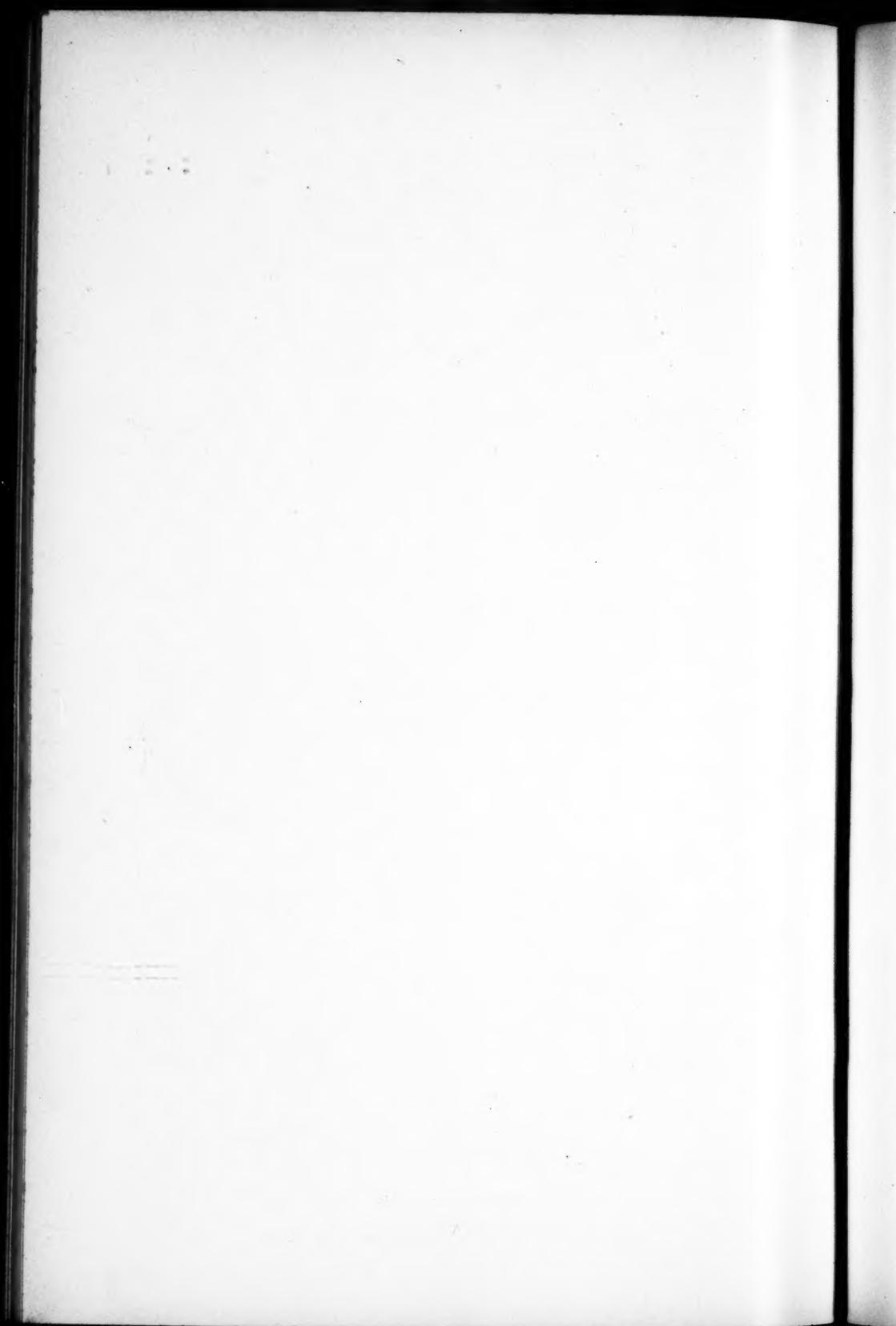
Mr. Leupp's suicide occurred on the evening of October 5th, 1859, five months before the Gouldsboro affair. This is sufficient in itself to thoroughly discredit the blundering attempt to connect the two things. Our author realizes this, and endeavors to conceal from his reader the fact of the intervening period. Thus he immediately follows his sensational fiction of the suicide occurring after an interview with Gould, with the remarkable statement, "On the death of their common partner Gould and Lee made a dash for the property in Gouldsboro."

In truth, as already said, Gould did not speculate. He was not in Mr. Leupp's office just prior to the suicide. Not only did he not have a "stormy interview" then, but he had no such interview with Mr. Leupp throughout the history of their dealings together. As a matter of fact Mr. Leupp did not commit suicide at his office, but at his home, in the evening, just after dinner. Up to the time of this sad affair there had been absolutely, no misunderstanding or dissatisfaction of any kind between



HOMES OF JAY GOULD.

Lyndhurst—Irvington-on-Hudson.
Birthplace—West Settlement, Roxbury, Delaware Co.—Residence.



Gould and the firm of Charles M. Leupp & Co. We have the sworn testimony of Mr. Lee himself as to all this, and surely this ought to be sufficient. Upon the strength of Mr. Lee's statement in the matter we can even say that there was nothing in any of Mr. Leupp's business relations, whether with Gould or any other man, which would have justified the least concern of mind.

The necessity of burying this outrageous slander once for all, justifies the citation of the proof.

The verdict of the coroner's jury in Mr. Leupp's case was that "the deceased came to his death by a gunshot wound, at his own hand, while laboring under fixed derangement of mind."

At the inquest, Mr. Lee gave this testimony: "I am the partner and brother-in-law of the deceased . . . I have been in partnership with Mr. Leupp about fourteen years . . . During the past six months I have frequently observed on the part of Mr. Leupp a tendency to depression of spirits, with corresponding elevation . . . I have noticed these fits of excitement and depression ever since last October [several months before the partnership with Gould was entered into at all], and increasing in frequency, and almost a continuous depression of spirits during the last six or eight months . . . During the last six weeks or two months the depression was continuous almost without reaction, and became more and more intense to the end . . . During these six weeks Mr. Leupp had given evidence of fixed derangement of mind; he was subject to hallucinations of almost every imaginable va-

riety upon almost every subject, without any support or basis in the actual circumstances in which he was placed . . . I saw that he was absolutely insane . . . I spoke to his friend and physician, Dr. A. V. Williams, of Bloomingdale, on Sunday . . . and expressed my conviction that Leupp was insane . . . I told the doctor that I should immediately place Mr. Leupp under restraint, which of course I could not do without a medical certificate; *there was nothing in the facts of Mr. Leupp's personal, family, social, property or commercial condition, so far as I am aware, to justify any apprehension or distress on his part.*

Shepherd Knapp, on the same occasion, also testified: "I was a partner of Mr. Gideon Lee, father of Mrs. Leupp; I have known Mr. Leupp intimately, and I may say I have been his confidential friend; I have seen Mr. Leupp frequently during the last five or six weeks, and my view of his case corresponds exactly with that of Mr. Lee who has been examined; *there was nothing to my knowledge in the mercantile, business, personal, or other relations of Mr. Leupp to justify the apprehensions and fears under which Mr. Leupp labored.*"

In view of these facts, what becomes of Murat Halstead's lurid catalogue of daring adventures, speculations, undecipherable accounts, threatened ruin, and stormy interviews which shocked Mr. Leupp's "old-fashioned notions" and impelled him to self destruction? In verification of what we have presented, we refer our author to the daily papers of this city, for October 7, 1859, containing an account of the inquest,—although the thought occurs that it would

have been far more satisfactory to have taken the trouble of such reference before the book was issued.

In turning from this subject, and the interminable array of slanders which have been based upon it, we give a letter never before published, written by Gould at the time, in self-justification, to a friend whom the rumors had disquieted.

"GOULDSBORO, PA., APRIL, 30, 1860.
"DEAR SIR :

Mr. Lee since the beginning of this contest, has had every aid that strong friends, capital and the best legal advice in N. Y. could afford him. His N. Y. attorneys, Evarts and Southmayd have both been here to defend him. I have been alone, and have met them on their own chosen ground and they have found themselves on slippery footing and defeated every time. I have dared them in open court to name three good men that they would refer to and whose decision should be final and conclusive. Have they accepted it? They dare not do it, why? Because Mr. Lee and his counsel know it will not answer to submit his case to three disinterested men. *Mr. Lee must avoid the calm verdict of these disinterested men*, because perchance that verdict might place him in the *wrong*, and he is too proud to own or admit that he is *wrong*.

"I met Loring Andrews in Stroudsburg last week. He requested me to show him a copy of my proposition to refer to Thos. Watson and himself. I showed it to him and some of the other papers. He said unequivocally that he believed me in the right; that Lee's course was dishonorable and

wrong, and lauded me for my courage and perseverance.

"Lee has replevied in all 4,200 sides of the leather and I have given a return bond for \$30,000 and keep the leather. I have given these bonds in face of his own attempts to prevent it and the attempts of Burke; and as soon as the leather is finished and ready for market, I shall dispose of the same. Lee made an application to the court last week to appoint a receiver for the 4,200 sides replevied by him, Lee, and rebonded by myself on the grounds that they had *discovered* that they could not sustain a replevin. The Court told them that was *very obvious*, but it was a remedy of their own choice and the Court could not interfere. I then applied for a receiver for the balance of the leather and that will be decided on Wednesday next, when I trust I shall get one appointed of my own choosing, the receiver to hold the proceeds until the rights of the parties thereto are decided. If I make this point on them, they are completely cornered as they have applied for an injunction to stop my working the tannery and I have beaten them on that. They begin to show evident symptoms of weariness, and I fancy they are casting about for some way to get out of their troubles without a public verdict to decide that either party is right or wrong.

"On my part, I am just beginning to realize my own strength, and I have been no more ruffled or annoyed by this controversy than I would have been on a tour of pleasure. My friends here have not only the fullest confidence in my position, but in my ability to take care of myself; and those

of my enemies who thought it an easy matter to ruin, intimidate and destroy me, have, I fancy, ere this, come to a far different conclusion.

"Mr. Lee had undertaken in an underhanded way to get a substitute appointed in my place as Postmaster at Gouldsboro. They got up a petition secretly, got it signed by parties at a distance and it was forwarded unknown to me, as they supposed, to Washington accompanied by an agent who was expected to return with the new commission. Imagine the surprise of Mr. Lee's agent at meeting me in the Appointment office at Washington with a remonstrance signed by every tax-payer in the township excepting three, together with a certified copy of the taxpayers under the oath of the assessor as a voucher to the authenticity of my remonstrance. He left chagrined and mortified, and I am still Postmaster; and what is more, expect to continue; and it is yet a mystery to them how I had been able to anticipate their movements. This is only one of several attempts to annoy me, but that have more amused than annoyed me, because I have always defeated them on their own ground and with their own weapons.

Yours respectfully,
JAY GOULD."

Just at this point in Mr. Gould's career, the agitation of the Civil War began. Ex-Governor Reeder had planned to enter the Federal Army as a General, with Jay Gould as his chief of staff. But the sudden death of the Governor completely overturned these plans. An interesting speculation might be indulged as to the result had Mr. Gould's genius been turned in-

to military channels, with the opportunity afforded by the great civil strife. But the Providence that disposes human events, ordained otherwise.

The financial difficulties of a friend at this junction turned the young man's mind away from thoughts of war. Mr. Daniel S. Miller, whose daughter Gould afterwards married, was a large holder of the securities of the Troy and Washington and Troy and Rutland Railroads. These properties had been almost wrecked by the bad management of other hands. Mr. Miller found his holdings depreciated to a figure which seemed irretrievable. The affairs were turned over to Gould, who at once manifested the genius for such undertakings which ever after characterized him. He began to build up the roads. He made them valuable properties, not merely by manipulating the stocks, but by putting the roads in shape to render efficient and economical public service. This he directed by careful personal supervision on the ground, going over every mile of the property. He succeeded in lifting the financial difficulties of the roads and presently effected a consolidation with the Saratoga, White Hall & Rensslear Railroad.

In the same way he took hold of the Erie road when it was trembling on the extreme brink of bankruptcy, and despite the opposition of such railroad kings of that day, as Daniel Drew and Commodore Vanderbilt, he made his line the chief highway across the Empire State. He achieved similar results with an investment in Cleveland and Pittsburgh stock, and did the same thing with the Union

Pacific, although on a larger scale than in the case of any previous transaction. So also was it with the Texas Pacific and Missouri Pacific which with innumerable connecting lines, purchased or built, he developed into one of the most magnificent railroad systems of the world. But the details of these transactions, as also of his work in developing the great Western Union Telegraph system, in

in 1885, Mr. Gould's character was vindicated by long suffering and patience with labor leaders who even thought to bulldoze and intimidate him. In his testimony before the Congressional Committee on this occasion, Mr. Gould said: "I am in favor of arbitration as an easy way of settling differences between corporations and their employees."

The organization of the Knights of



RIVER VIEW FROM LYNDHURST.

laying cables across the Atlantic, and in giving to New York City the Manhattan Rapid Transit system, cannot be entered into here. All are more or less familiar to the public, at whose hands however, in connection with almost every one of these enterprises, Gould suffered previous wrong in reputation.

In the famous Knights of Labor strike on the Missouri Pacific system

Labor, on this occasion, received a blow in reputation from which it has never since quite recovered.

His brilliant success in the conduct of so many great ventures, coupled with the gross and uncorrected misrepresentations which followed him, had attached to Gould a sort of power of financial magic in the public mind. The existence of such a feeling is well known. Among other preposterous

notions arising from this, he was for a long time credited with having precipitated the great financial panic of 1869, (Black Friday,) for the purpose of furthering some private gold speculations. Mr. G. P. Morosini, who knew more concerning his financial affairs than any other human being, thus effectually disposes of this slander: "He was not responsible for it. A man would hardly precipitate a panic and lose his own money, would he? The panic of 1873 left Mr. Gould comparatively a poor man. He had more reason to regret the disaster than almost any one else concerned. I doubt if any man parted with more cash and securities than did Mr. Gould by reason of that catastrophe."

An incident very different from this occurred in 1882, when the stability of the market was threatened by the persistent rumor that Mr. Gould was financially embarrassed. In this crisis Mr. Gould brought several gentlemen into his office, two of whom were Cyrus W. Field and Russell Sage, and laid before their astonished gaze \$53,000,000 in gilt edge securities. It is needless to say that the danger passed.

Mr. Ellery Anderson, appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the affairs of the Union Pacific Railroad, secured an insight into Mr. Gould's affairs and methods. With these advantages he gives this testimony: "One thing always impressed me, and it is interesting in connection with current statements and some popular impressions of the man. It is this: I have always found, even to the most trivial detail, that Mr. Gould lived up to the whole nature of his obligations. Of course he was

always reticent and careful about what he promised, but that promise was invariably fulfilled."

In the face of the misrepresentations based on Gould's connection with the Erie, the testimony of a son of the famous Ezra Cornell is noteworthy. Says Mr. Cornell: "He was the most misunderstood man in this country. My acquaintance with him began about twenty-five years ago, upon his ascension to the Presidency of the Erie Railway, and has continued until his death. . . . Circumstances associated him with James Fisk, Jr. In every way Mr. Gould was the opposite of the late Mr. Fisk—socially, morally, religiously, in business affairs and in every possible respect. . . . I regarded Mr. Gould as one of the most remarkable men America has produced. As a business man, he was the most far-sighted man I have ever known. He was the soul of honor in his personal integrity. His word passed in honor was as good as any bond he could make. He was never a stock gambler. He had no more to do with Black Friday than you had. In all his transactions he meant always to be strictly just, and took care to get what belonged to him. . . . Fisk undertook to steal the Albany & Susquehanna Railroad, but Mr. Gould had no connection with the matter except so far as legitimate means justified. . . . The Erie Railway has been owned in England during most, if not all of the last forty years. The newspaper reputation of Fisk and Gould, as they were always inseparably named . . . shook the confidence of the European constituency, and the Lon-

don bankers turned their proxies over to the control of General Dix. He came home with power to dethrone Mr. Gould from the Presidency . . .

Gould, then only thirty-six years old, in the prime of life, proud of his official position, and ambitious to make a reputation as a railway manager, naturally resisted the onslaught, and attempted to hold his place by means of the opposing interests which he might control."

Concerning Gould's influence in Western Union, Mr. Cornell further testifies: "I succeeded my father, Ezra Cornell, in the Board of Directors of the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1868, and have been a director continually until now. . . .

Looking back over the time during which he (Gould) has been in control, I have no hesitation in saying that his influence has been the most conservative and far-sighted of any ten successive years in the Company's history. He has desired to make the Western Union the great and only telegraph company in America. He has succeeded in covering the continent with its wires and offices, numbering of the latter now more than 20,000, including the cables connecting with the European Continent and with Mexico and the West Indies and thence to South America. His policy, which has been a cordial and earnest support of the recommendations of the experienced officials who have had charge of the details of management, has resulted in adding more to the value of the company during this time than was ever added in any twenty years of its preceding life."

One of the charges which has been

most prejudicial to Mr. Gould's reputation, is the claim that he forced the venerable Cyrus W. Field out of Manhattan Railway stock. But nothing in reality could be farther from the truth. These men were intimately associated in this great enterprise, but while Mr. Gould was cool and careful as ever, Mr. Field was lost in enthusiasm as to the future prospects of the road. As the stock rose in value he bought huge blocks of it, securing money by putting the stock up as collateral. Mr. Gould warned him against over-loading, but in vain. At length, in a financial flurry, Mr. Field was caught with 88,000 shares of the stock, the par value of which, \$8,800,000, had been boomed in the market to \$15,000,000. As these values suddenly fell, absolute ruin stared Mr. Field in the face. Indeed the blow would have fallen, but for the timely assistance of Mr. Gould. Mr. Field's predicament was explained to Gould, and the latter took 78,000 shares of the stock at 120, paying therefor \$9,360,000. The stock continued to decline and reached the low point of 77, before the reaction began. Mr. Gould's assistance, when none other could or would have rendered it, saved Mr. Field from utter ruin. Had Mr. Gould intended to take advantage of Field's necessities, instead of generously coming to his rescue, he might have waited for the stock to fall 77, or less, and then bought it in. As a matter of fact he well knew that the stock would continue to fall after his purchase from Field, yet he generously bought at a good price which would save his friend. Another evidence that he was not planning to secure Mr. Field's

stock, nor was indeed prepared to receive it, was the fact that he did not wish to carry all he had taken from Field. Thus out of the 78,000 shares acquired, he immediately disposed of some 28,000 shares at the purchase price of 120. But many of Mr. Gould's friend's refused to touch the stock, even in small blocks at this price. Much less would any of them have been willing to take the entire load from Mr. Field. As a matter of fact this transaction was an act of generosity and sincere friendship, a deed of a kind to which Mr. Gould was not a stranger.

Yet spite of these facts, the persistence with which the charge of wrong done to Mr. Field has been pressed against Gould, requires that unequivocal testimony be put in evidence here as elsewhere. We have such testimony from John T. Terry, of the firm of E. D. Morgan & Co.

The New York Tribune for December 3, 1892, declared: "John T. Terry . . . has for years been one of Mr. Gould's most trusted counsellors

. . . . In the case of the sale of Mr. Field's Manhattan stock to Mr. Gould, Mr. Terry was the medium through which Mr. Field was able effectually to appeal to Mr. Gould's resources to assist Mr. Field in the time of his need. Mr. Terry's friends say that the confidential nature of his relations to the negotiations at that time forbids him to tell much of the secret history." Nevertheless, he has told enough to settle the point in question forever, as the following from his lips bears witness:

"Mr. Gould has been for years the subject of much misrepresentation and unreasonable abuse, partly from mis-

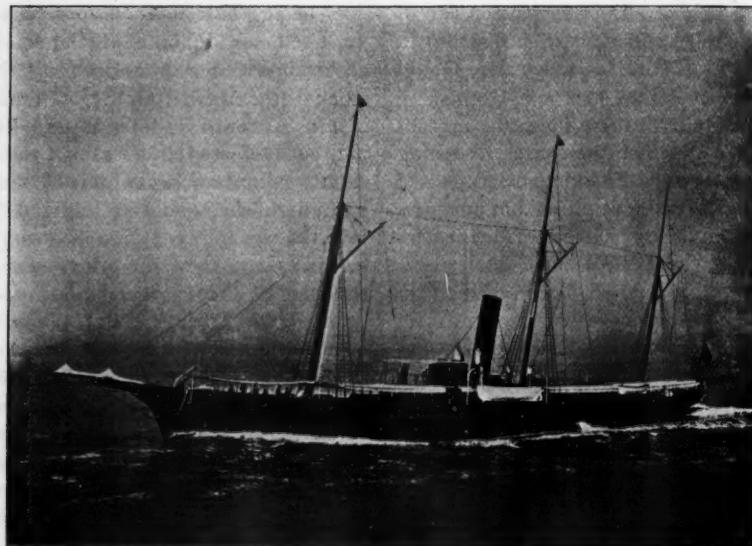
apprehension and partly from malice. Even those of his transactions which have been beneficent in their character, and which have been prompted by the best motives, have been turned and twisted by attributing the worst possible motives to him. Take for example the case of Mr. Field and the Manhattan Railway. Mr. Gould was applied to for aid, and he generously loaned \$1,000,000 of bonds, taking, therefor, no security whatever. This not being sufficient he purchased most reluctantly and at much personal inconvenience \$5,000,000 of the stock of the Manhattan Elevated road at 120. A few days later he stated to me that he feared this was not sufficient to afford all relief needed, and he thought he would be obliged to take the remaining \$2,800,000, which he did take at the same price and distributed all or the greater portion of it among his friends. But this was not the end. A few days later I was again asked to his office, when he said to me, the parties being present and he having been summoned to the city by telegraph at their request, although in wretched health: 'More assistance is needed, but I have declined to go any further. Won't you please look at their papers and see if you can suggest any way for them to obtain the money?'

"After looking into the matter, I said: 'Mr. Gould you have already done more than could reasonably be asked of any man, but I am sure that \$300,000 more will be sufficient, and I think you can loan it safely, although the securities are not otherwise available.' He replied: 'Very well, I will draw the check.' Here was assistance rendered of over \$10,000,-

ooo, and although the stocks were purchased upon thirty days' time, the necessities of the case required immediate payment, which Mr. Gould made at much personal inconvenience.

"Now what was the view taken of this transaction by the public press? We read in large print, 'Mr. Gould has ruined Mr. Field,' and other phrases just as false. This transaction not only saved the parties, but

—his generosity. Murat Halstead in his remarkable book, states that the panic of May 1884, left Gould "on the verge of failure." This was far indeed from the truth. Gould suffered with others at this time, but he was not in the least embarrassed. If his operations were less extended, or more quiet than formerly, the reason was very different from that supposed. The truth is that at this time, un-



YACHT "ATLANTA."

beyond question saved a panic in New York. I will only add that the decline of the stock named within a few succeeding weeks was about \$3,750, 000, and yet there are probably thousands and tens of thousands of persons here and abroad who believe that Mr. Field was wronged by Mr. Gould."

This brings us, in closing, to a side of Mr. Gould's character of which the general public knew little or nothing

known to anyone except the persons concerned, Mr. Gould was extending substantial help to several embarrassed business men. And while affording such help he even bore blame to shield others, not willing to expose them to defend himself.

For eighteen years Mr. Morosini kept Mr. Gould's private accounts. Under the heading of "Beneficence" one account was kept very secretly

and the true significance of the expenditures there recorded was not openly admitted even between these two gentlemen.

When a new gift was made Morosini would ask, "What is this, Mr. Gould? Is it a loan?" "Yes," would be the reply, "one I shall not see again." During the last year Mr. Morosini kept the books, (1885), these "loans" recorded under "Beneficence" amounted to \$165,000. At the time of the devastation of Memphis by yellow fever, in 1879, Mr. Gould had several generous sums transmitted to the sufferers. "I will give five thousand to the help of the people at once, and as much more when it is wanted, if you will fix it so that my name shall not appear in the transaction," was his direction to Gen. Eckert. The "as much more" was forthcoming, but the secret of the donor at length leaked out, to Mr. Gould's great annoyance.

Through his generous wife, until her death, and through his daughter, Miss Helen Gould, extensive gifts in charitable and religious directions were also constantly being made. Mr. Gould found that it saved him much heartless newspaper comment to leave such benefactions in the hands of these members of his family. A fair example of the persecution suffered through his very generosity, was the case of his subscription of \$10,000 to the work of Church Extension in the Presbyterian Church. Knowledge of what he had done unfortunately got to the press, and here, as elsewhere, "he found those he desired to help embarrassed by uncharitable comment upon the bounty he bestowed." The "Atlanta Constitution," at the

time of Mr. Gould's death, came near to the truth in this respect when it said:

"The trouble with Mr. Gould was that he did not make arrangements with the newspapers to herald his deeds of benevolence, and the result was that no one outside of his small circle of intimates and familiars knew the extent of them. He went about his charities as he did about his business, silently and shrewdly. In this day, benevolence that hides itself from the eyes of the quick-witted reporters, is open to the charge of eccentricity."

It is not generally known that Mr. Gould's death prevented a great benefaction to the City of New York which he had carefully mapped out for execution. This was to have been an institution on a scale more extensive than any similar one in the world, to provide free advantages in every department of industrial training and practical business education. The system would have been unique from many an ingenious feature contrived in Mr. Gould's mind. He had thought to live to execute his design; and did not provide for its fulfillment in the emergency of death.

In his family Mr. Gould inspired the greatest respect and love. His children saw and knew what the public never suspected—the real Jay Gould. Mrs. Gould was the daughter of the Hon. Daniel S. Miller, of Greenville, N. Y., and descendant from an English family which settled at Easthampton, Long Island, in early colonial days. Mr. and Mrs. Gould were married on the 22d of January, 1863, at the home of the bride's parent, and in presence of

some forty or fifty persons—newspaper tales of a secret marriage to the contrary notwithstanding. A reception attended by at least 400 people immediately followed the marriage.

The children of Mr. and Mrs. Gould, six in number, are George J. Gould, Edwin Gould, Helen Miller Gould, Howard Gould, Anna Gould and Frank J. Gould. Mr. Gould's estate by will was divided equally among them all, except that considerable special bequests were made to Mr. George Gould for his long services in the management of his father's affairs, and to Miss Helen Gould, for her motherly care of the younger children, as Mistress of the home, after Mrs. Gould's death. Miss Gould thus received as special gifts, both the the mansion on Fifth Ave., and also possession for a period of the country home, Lyndhurst, at Irvington, together with the magnificent green-house at the latter estate, and the splendid picture galleries, containing many rare works and a number of master studies, which adorn both houses.

Flowers, pictures and books indicate the triple direction in which Mr. Gould's tastes ran, and from which he derived his chief satisfaction and pleasure. He inherited the refinement and gentlemanly instincts to which his descent from cavalier ancestors naturally entitled him although the public realized the exis-

tence of these qualities as little as they suspected the gentle ancestry. Mr. Gould's home life was beautiful. His children honor his character and venerate his memory, holding them in special and jealous tenderness, in proportion to their appreciation and sympathy for his reputation as a public man. In proportion as they find false judgment passed upon him abroad, does their exclusive knowledge of the true man become a sort of sacred trust; and inheriting, perhaps, the family pride, their hands would scarcely be the ones to lift the veil of misunderstanding.

The ambition of Mr. Gould's youth was a literary life. Who can say that the bitterness of misrepresentation may not have checked any recurrence to these early thoughts which the leisure of later years might have incited? The genius of the man and high degree of its possession is not questioned anywhere. In his chosen life's work he stands as greatly pre-eminent, one may say, as any of the world's heroes in theirs. What his genius and marvelous energies and powers of concentration might have achieved in any other direction, it is impossible to surmise. In future, perhaps, no thought will be oftener associated with his name than that expressed by Mr. Cornell, "He was the most misunderstood man in this country." It might be added that he was also the worst misrepresented.

FRANK ALLABEN.

MISCELLANEA.

Mr. Bushrod C. Washington, of Charlestown, Jefferson county, W.Va., sends to the Baltimore *Sun* a copy of an interesting letter from the artist Rembrandt Peale, to the late Judge Bushrod Washington, a nephew of General Washington, executor of his wife, and inheritor of Mount Vernon from him. Mr. Washington writes, apropos of the recent notice of the Washington portrait in the Eaton collection bequeathed to the Peabody Institute: Peale states in his letter dated July 12, 1824: "There are only five painters living to whom Washington sat for his portrait, the oldest of whom is my father, whose best portrait was painted in 1795, immediately preceding the one executed by Gilbert Stuart. He sat to me at the same time. Trumbull's portrait was painted many years before, and this artist had not seen him for many years prior to his death. The fifth painter is my uncle, James Peale, who painted two minatures of him."

A report comes from Fort Gaines, Georgia, that twelve miles from there, on what is commonly known as the Mercier Place, is a mound which is said to be the largest known in the United States, and undoubtedly the work of the mound-builders of former generations. Whether it is the largest or not, it has the distinction of being the largest in Georgia. Its base covers more than two acres, and running up an angle of about forty-five degrees, it stands about one hun-

dred feet high. Large oak trees several feet in diameter cover the sides, and stand as witnesses to the great age of the mound. Its historic interest lies in the fact that many years ago a gentlemen had a small-sized well dug from the top down into the heart of the mound, and among other things found the jaw-bone of a man that would easily slip over the head of an ordinary man of this generation. His explorations were very meagre, and since then nothing like any systematic search has ever been made. Leading off from the mound in the direction of the creek are ditches, at the present time several feet deep. They were evidently used by the mound-builders as secret ways of egress in case of attack.

A new historical society having been organized in Frederick county, Maryland, one of the local newspapers discourses in the following manner: "It is a well-known fact that few other sections of the county are richer in historical associations than is Frederick county. It was there, for instance, that the odious stamp act was first denounced; it was there that Benjamin Franklin first met General Washington; it was in Frederick that General Sharpe, General Braddock, and Colonel Washington met in the eventful spring of 1755, and it was there that many incidents occurred which aided largely in shaping the history of the country in those and other perilous times."

EVOLUTION OF THE BICYCLE.

THE TAYLOR CYCLE COMPANY.

A PECULIARITY of the bicycle business of the country, considering its enormous proportions, is the fact that it is conducted almost entirely by comparatively young men. Almost without exception the heads of the great manufacturing establishments, and the principal dealers of the larger as well as the smaller cities are men who have not yet reached middle age, and some of those most widely known to the bicycle world at the present time began their business careers with the development of this industry only a few years since.

A notable instance of the building up of a vast business of this character with remarkable rapidity is that of the Taylor Cycle Company of Chicago, of which Arthur A. Taylor and A. L. Collins are executive officers and managers. Both of these gentlemen are young men who served apprenticeship as salesmen and in various branches of the bicycle business, before they began business on their own account, and both had been well known to the trade for several years prior to that time. They became associated together when Mr. Taylor assumed the management of the Chicago branch of the George R. Bidwell Cycle Company with Mr. Collins as his assistant.

In 1892 they bought out the business of which they had charge in Chicago and organized the Taylor Cycle Company, with Mr. Taylor as president and Mr. Collins as secretary of the corporation. Bending all their

energies to the work of building up and extending the business which they had established, a thorough familiarity with the requirements of the trade, and a wide acquaintance with the bicycle manufacturers and dealers of the country, has enabled them in two years to take rank among the leading dealers of the United States. Comparatively few western houses carry as large a line of goods as the Taylor Cycle Company, and none has established a reputation for selecting goods with greater care or a more intelligent consideration of the needs of all classes of customers. Having obtained control of a large proportion of the output of some of the most famous American cycle factories they have supplemented the stock thus obtained by large importations of a justly celebrated machine of English manufacture, and also by having a popular price bicycle built exclusively for their trade from specifications which they themselves furnished. While so shaping their stock of goods as to adapt itself to various classes of trade, they have drawn the line on handling the product of irresponsible manufacturers, and purchasers always understand that a machine bought of the Taylor Cycle Company carries with it the guarantee of a reliable manufacturer. Liberality and fairness in their business methods have served to popularize the company and to render them phenomenally successful in extending their trade throughout the western and southern States.



Dr. C. H. Homblower